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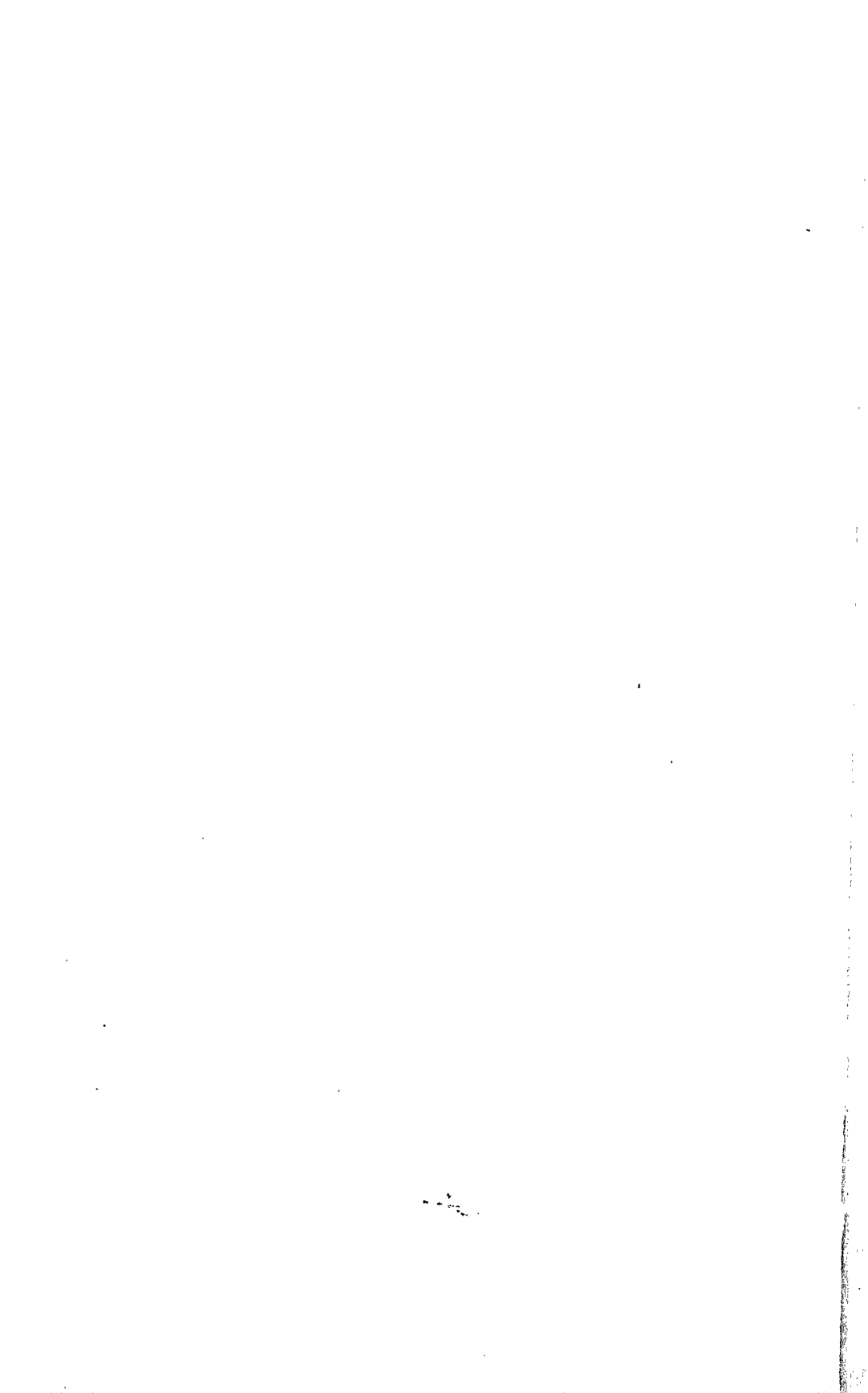
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JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

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GEORGE F. MOORE,

Professor in Andover Theological Seminary.

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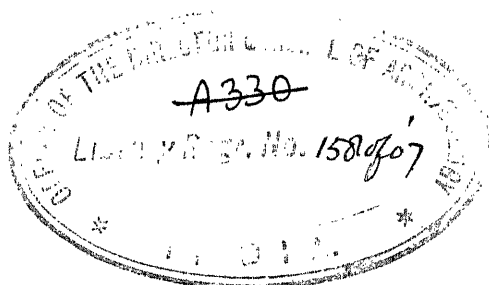
TWENTIETH VOLUME,

SECOND HALF.

THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

The Egyptian prototype of "King John and the Abbot."—
By CHARLES C. TORREY, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.

ONE of the oldest Arabic historical works is Ibn 'Abd el-Ḥakem's فتوح مصر, or *Conquest of Egypt*, composed near the middle of the ninth century A. D. Its author, 'Abd er-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd el-Ḥakem, a native of Egypt and the son of a man of high rank, died in the year 257 A. H. (871 A. D.). He was thus a contemporary of Ibn Sa'd (d. 230), Belādhori (d. 279), and Ṭabarī (d. 310). His book, which is of about the same extent as Belādhori's *Futūḥ el-Buldān*, is a collection of the traditions relating to the Mohammedan conquest of Egypt, Africa, and Spain. It thus furnishes a welcome supplement to the other early Muslim histories and tradition collections, which give comparatively little space to these countries. Though containing a great deal that is worthless, and written by one who possessed few of the qualities of a good historian, it is, nevertheless, a work of great importance. I hope soon to publish an edition of it based on the three manuscripts in London and Paris, which I have already copied and collated.

Although this *Conquest of Egypt* has been extensively used by the later Mohammedan historians, yet it contains some very interesting material which has apparently not been used by other writers. An example of the kind is the accompanying anecdote, which has never been published, and, if I am not mistaken, has never been brought to the attention of occidental scholars.

In one of the introductory chapters of his book, Ibn 'Abd el-Ḥakem gives a list of the Egyptian kings who reigned in Mem-

phis, beginning with the grandson of Noah, and extending down to the time when the country came under foreign rule. Most of these kings are mentioned only by name; a few, however, are the subjects of more or less extended tradition or anecdote. One of these latter is the king whom the historian identifies with Pharaoh Necho, of Old Testament fame (2 Kings xxiii. 29-35). The spelling of the name of this king, in its Arabic form, varies considerably; the variation being plainly due to the fact that in the oldest sources the diacritical points were usually omitted. In the manuscripts of the *Fitūḥ Miṣr* the name is generally unpointed. Where points are given, the form is Baulah, بولاه (attested by all three manuscripts). Mas'ūdī (ed. Meynard, ii. 410) has بولونه; Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn (ed. Juynboll, i. 67) has يولونه, يولوه, and other (unpointed) forms; Maqrīzī (Būlāq, 1854, i. 143) and Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma, i. 211) read نولوه, Naulah; and so on. The tradition relating to this king which is given by all these historians—who derive it, apparently, from Ibn 'Abd el-Ḥakem—is the following (quoted from the *Fitūḥ Miṣr*): ثم توفي

[مناكيل] فاستخلف ابنه بول¹ بن مناكيل فملكهم مائة سنة وعشرين سنة وهو الاعرج الذي سبى ملك بيت المقدس وقدم به الى مصر وكان بول قد تمكن في البلاد وبلغ مبلغا لم يبلغه احد ممن كان قبله بعد فرعون وطغا فقتله الله صرخته دأبته فدقت عنقه فمات.

That is, though 'Baulah' was the most powerful ruler since Rameses II., yet he was so wicked that God at length put a sudden end to his life; or, more exactly, his horse threw him, and the fall broke his neck. This is given by Ibn 'Abd el-Ḥakem as the 'standard' tradition as to the end of his reign. But he adds another tradition, "derived, it is said, from a native sheikh learned in such matters," according to which the king was deposed by his own people. The story which then follows is a most interesting one. Besides being an excellent example of that

¹ Thus vocalized in the old and carefully written manuscript of the British Museum.

class of popular tales in which the interest centers in the shrewd answers given to a series of hard questions, it is plainly a genuine bit of Coptic folk-lore, which had been current in the land long before the Arab invasion. It has, moreover, as we shall see, some striking parallels in the European folk-lore of the middle ages. The Arabic text here given, which is now published for the first time, is based on the excellent London manuscript of the *Futūḥ Miṣr* (MS. Brit. Mus. *Stowe Or. 6*; No. 520 in *Rien's Supplement*).

قال واخبرني شيخ من اهل مصر من اهل العلم أن
الخلوع الذي خلعه اهل مصر انما هو بؤله وذلك انه دعا
الوزراء ومن كانت الملوك قبله تُجرى عليهم الارزاق والجوايز فكأنه
استكثر ذلك فقال لهم اني اريد ان اسألكم عن مسائل فإن
اخبرتموني بها زدت في ارزاقكم ورفعت من اقداركم وإن انتم لم
تخبروني بها ضربت (fol. 11a) اعناقكم فقالوا له سلنا عم شئت
فقال لهم أخبروني ما يفعل الله تبارك وتعالى في كل يوم وكم
عدد نجوم السماء وكم مقدار ما تستحق الشمس في كل يوم على
ابن آدم فاستأجلوه فأجلهم في ذلك شهرا فكانوا يخرجون في كل
يوم الى خارج مدينة منف فيقفون في ظل قرموس يتباثون ما
هم فيه ثم يرجعون وصاحب القرموس ينظر اليهم فاتاهم ذات
يوم فسألهم عن امرهم فاخبروه فقال لهم عندي علم ما
تريدون إلا أن لي قرموسا لا يستطيع ان اعطله فليقع رجل
منكم مكاني يعمل فيه واعطوني دابة كدوابكم والبسوني ثيابا
كثيابكم ففعلوا وكان في المدينة ابن لبعض ملوكهم قد ساءت
حالته فاتاه القرموس فسأله القيام بملك ابيه وطلبه فقال ليس
يخرج هذا يريد الملك من مدينة منف فقال أنا اخرجك لك

وجمع له مالا ثم اتقبل القرموس حتى دخل على بوله فاخبره ان عنده علم ما سأل عنه فقال له أخبرني عن عدد نجوم السماء فاخرج القرموس جرابًا من رمل كان معه فنثره بين يديه وقال له مثل عدد هذا قال وما يُدْرِيكَ قال مُرَّ مَنْ يَعِدُّهُ قال فكم مقدار ما تستحقّ الشمس كل يوم على ابن آدم قال قيراطا لثَنّ العامل يعمل يومه الى الليل فيأخذ ذلك في أجرته قال فما يفعل الله كل يوم قال له أُرِيكَ ذلك غذا فتخرج معه حتى اوقفه على احد وزرائه الذى اقعداه القرموس مكانه فقال له يفعل الله كل يوم أن بذلّ قوما ويعزّ قوما ويميت قوما ومن ذلك أن هذا وزير من وزرائك قاعد يعمل على قرموس وأنا صاحب قرموس على دابة من دوابّ الملوك وعلى لباس من لباسهم او كما قال له وأن فلان بن فلان قد اغلق عليك مدينة منف فرجع مبادراً فإذا مدينة منف قد أُغْلِقَتْ ووثبوا مع الغلام علا بوله فخلعوه فوسّوس¹ فكان يقعد على باب مدينة منف يوسوس ويهْذِي فذلك قول القبط اذا كُلم احدهم بما لا يريد قال شَجَنَّاكَ من بوله يريد بذلك الملك لوسوسته والله اعلم .

TRANSLATION.

One day the king, who, it seems, grudged his vezīrs their pay, summoned them before him, and said to them: "I will ask of you certain questions. If you can answer them for me, I will add to your pay and increase your power; but if you fail to answer them, I will cut off your heads." They replied, "Ask of us whatever you will." So he said: "Tell me these three things: *First*,

¹ Thus pointed in the London MS.

What is the number of the stars in the heavens? *Second*, What sum of money does the sun earn daily, by his labor for each human being? *Third*, What does God almighty do, every day?" Not knowing what to answer, the vezirs besought the king to give them a little time, and he granted them a month's respite.

They used therefore to go every day outside the city of Memphis, and stand in the shade of a potter's kiln;¹ where they would consult together in hope of finding a solution of the difficulty they were in. The potter, noticing this, came to them one day and asked them what they were doing. They told him their story. He replied: "*I* can answer the king's questions; but I have a kiln here, and cannot afford to leave it idle. Let one of you sit down and work in my place; and do you give me one of your beasts to ride, and furnish me with clothing like your own." They did as he asked.

Now there was in the city a certain prince, the son of a former king, whom ill fortune had overtaken. To him the potter betook himself, and proposed to him that he should try to regain his father's throne. But he replied, "There is no way of getting this fellow (meaning the king) outside of the city." "I will get him out for you," answered the potter. So the prince collected all his resources, and made ready.

Then the potter, in the guise of a vezir, went and stood before King Baulah, and announced himself ready to answer the three questions. "Tell me, then," said the king, "the number of the stars in the sky." The potter produced a bag of sand which he had brought, and poured it out before him, saying, "Here is just the number. "How do you know?" demanded the king. "Order some one to count it, and you will see that I have it right." The king proceeded: "How much does the sun earn each day by his work for each son of Adam?" He replied, "One qirāt; for the day-laborer who works from sunrise to sunset receives that

¹ The word قيرموس, which is not found in any Arabic Lexicon, and is all but unknown in Arabic literature, is apparently derived from κεραμειός, through the Coptic. The only other place where it occurs, a passage in Ya'qūbī's *History* (ed. Houtsma, ii. 489), to which attention was first called by von Kremer, *Lexicogr. Notizen*, 1886, p. 21 (I am indebted to Professor Macdonald for this reference), is in a narrative of Upper Egypt; and the word is there explained as meaning "a potter's oven." In our story it is used both for the kiln and for the potter himself. I hope to discuss the word at length elsewhere.

amount." He then asked, "What does God almighty do every day?" "That," answered the potter, "I will show you tomorrow."

So on the morrow he went forth with the king from the city, until they came to that one of the king's vezirs whom he had made to sit down in his place. Then he said: "What God almighty does every day is this; he humbles men, and exalts men, and ends the life of men. To illustrate this: here is one of your own vezirs sitting down to work in a potter's kiln; while I, a poor potter, am mounted on one of the royal beasts, and wear the garments of the court. And further, such a one (naming the rival prince) has just barred the gates of Memphis against you!"

The king turned back in hot haste; but lo! the gates of the city were already barred. Then the people, led by the young prince, seized King Baulah, and deposed him. He went crazy; and used to sit by the gate of the city of Memphis, raving and drivelling.

And that, adds the narrator, is the reason why a Copt, when you say to him that which displeases him, replies, "You are descended from Baulah on both sides of your family!" meaning the crazy king.

It remains to notice the European parallel already referred to. No student of English literature who reads the foregoing story can fail to observe the close resemblance which it bears to the well-known Old English tale of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury; a tale which appears in one form or another in many parts of Europe.

In the English ballad, which Prof. Child has edited and annotated, King John is introduced as a powerful but unjust ruler, who

"... ruled England with maine and with might,
"For he did great wrong, and maintein'd little right."

He decides that his Abbot of Canterbury is much too rich and prosperous, and announces his purpose to cut off his head; but finally agrees to spare his life on condition of his answering three questions which the king propounds. The questions are: 1. How much am I, the king, worth? 2. How long would it take me to ride around the earth? 3. What am I thinking? The abbot regards himself as a dead man; but is finally rescued by a shepherd, who goes to the king disguised as the abbot, and answers

the three questions without difficulty. The king is worth twenty-nine pence; since Jesus Christ was valued at thirty. The ride around the earth can be accomplished in just one day, by keeping directly under the sun for that length of time. The answer to the third question turns on the fact of the shepherd's disguise; what the king 'thinks' is this, that the man speaking to him is the Abbot of Canterbury, but he is in reality only a poor shepherd.

For some account of the occurrence of this story, in the same form or slightly varied, in the literature of many of the nations of Europe, see the Introduction to the ballad of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury, in Child's *English and Scottish Ballads*. The most natural explanation of the appearance of such a tale as this in the literature of these neighboring nations, English, French, Spanish, Italian, German, Danish, is that it made its way from one people to another by oral and literary transmission. Examples of the kind have always been abundant.

But if I am not mistaken, the European forms of the story are not only all derived from a common source, but their ultimate source is the Egyptian tale. It is true that riddles and hard questions have always played a prominent part in legend and story; that men in all parts of the world think alike; and that tales of this general nature might easily appear quite independently of one another in widely remote places. But in the case before us, the resemblances are too many and too close to be merely accidental. The story of King John and the Abbot is practically identical with that of King Baulah. It is not necessary to argue this point, for the correspondence of the two versions, part by part, is sufficiently striking. The divergences, on the other hand, are only such as we should expect to see. There is, moreover, a fact bearing on the question of the literary transmission which is to be taken into account. This *Futūh Misr* of Ibn 'Abd el-Hakem contains one of the oldest and most interesting narratives of the Mohammedan conquest of Spain,¹ as well as of Egypt and Africa. It may therefore be taken as certain that it was well known, and probably extensively circulated, among the Spanish Arabs from the ninth century on. There would seem, therefore, to be sufficient reason for concluding that the Egyptian

¹ Published, with an English translation, by John Harris Jones, Göttingen, 1858.

story of the King and the Potter was brought to Spain in Ibn 'Abd el-Hakem's history; that it became widely popular, and ultimately made its way into all parts of Europe.

In conclusion, it may be interesting to notice a passage in the Jewish Midrash, recently brought to my attention by Professor Siegmund Fraenkel, of Breslau, which closely resembles the third question and answer of our story. In *Beresith Rabba* § 68, 4 (ed. Wilna, fol. 133^d), Rabbi Yose ben Khalaphta, being asked what God has been doing since the time when he created the world, replies, "He sits and makes ladders, for the purpose of humbling this one and exalting that one, bringing down one and raising up another (יֹשֵׁב וְעוֹשֶׂה סֻלְמוֹת מִשְׁפִּיל לְזֶה וּמָרִים לְזֶה מוֹרִיד לְזֶה וּמַעֲלֶה לְזֶה)." This suggests that a popular proverb was the basis of the two replies; but it is possible that the coincidence may be merely accidental. Professor Fraenkel, in his mention of the Jewish parallel, refers to the periodical "*Germania* (Pfeiffer), xxv. neue Reihe, 288, No. iv." This I have not seen.

Addenda et corrigenda.—By WASHBURN HOPKINS, Professor
in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

1. *A Sanskrit parallel to Thucydides'*
'automatic' conflagration.
2. *Lexicographical notes.*
3. *Grammatical notes.*
4. *Archaeological notes.*

1. A Sanskrit parallel to Thucydides' 'automatic' conflagration.

IN ii. 77 Thucydides says that fire was produced ἀπὸ τριβόρου through the friction of branches rubbed against each other by the wind. In the second volume of his *Vedische Mythologie*, which has just come to hand (p. 151), Hillebrandt quotes Crooke to show that jungle fires originate thus at the present day. But literary allusion to this is not wanting. In the Sakuna Jātaka trees are said to produce fire by rubbing their branches against each other, and in Mbh. xii. 149. 8-9 we read: *babhrāma tasmīn vijane . . . tato drūmāṇāṁ mahatā* (C. -āṇ) *pavanena vane tadā udatiṣṭhat sa* (C. -ata) *saṁgharṣāt sumahān havyavāhanaḥ*.

A curious passage of cosmological content in the same book, 183. 13-14, ascribes fire to the friction of air and water: *vāyuh . . . ākāṣasthānam āsādyā praçāntīm nā 'dhigacchati; tasmīn vāy-ambusaṁgharṣe dīptatejā mahābalaḥ prādur abhūd ūrdhvaçikhaḥ kṛtvā nīstimiraṁ nabhaḥ*. This is primaeval fire, which dispels the original darkness of the firmament, and is caused by wind arising and fretting the water. This fire then falls as a solid mass and becomes the earth: *so 'gnir mārutasamyogād ghana-tvam upapadyate; tasyā 'kāṣaṁ nīpatitaḥ snehas tiṣṭhati yo 'paraḥ, sa saṁghātātavam āpanno bhūmitvam anugacchati* (ib. 15-16).

In Mbh. vii. 20. 38 fire is kindled even by the friction of tusks in battle: *dantasamghātasaṁgharṣāt sadhūmo 'gnir ajāyata!*

I would suggest that this phenomenon of 'automatic' fire may be alluded to as early as the Atharva Veda, where, xii. 1. 51, it is said that as "the wind speeds . . . causing the trees to move and the wind blows back and forth, flame breaks out [blows] after it":

*vāto mātariṣvė 'yate . . . cyāvāyaṅ ca vṛkṣān,
vātasya pravāṁ upavāṁ ānu vāty arcīḥ.*

Compare R.V. viii. 43. 8: *arcīṣā jañjanābhāvan agnīr vāneṣu rocate*. In the Atharvan passage the *arcīṣ* may of course be lightning, but it should be noticed that the phenomenon is said to occur not in the air, but apparently on the face of the earth, *yāsyām*.

2. Lexicographical notes.

The asterisk prefixed to words indicates that earlier (epic) references are given than those found in PW. or pw.; or that the words are not found there in the form shown here, e. g., *adhikātā, tiṣya*; or that they are there found starred or not found at all, e. g. *meṣāṇḍa, prātyavāyika*. Unstarred words have some interest, as explained in each case. R. indicates the Bombay edition; B., Gorresio.

**aṭṭahāsa*, add °*ān vimuñcantāḥ*, R. vii. 6. 55; earliest case.

**aṇḍa* in the sense of *viphalāḥ ca kṛto deva meṣāṇḍo 'bhūḥ sureṣvara*, R. B. vii. 38. 29. See *meṣāṇḍa* in PW.¹

**adhikātā* (=°*tva*), *sthāna*°, 'superior position,' R. vii. 30. 25. *apsarā*, add R. vii. 56. 13 (=B. 58. 12 °*āḥ*): *Ūrvaḥ paramā-psarā* (sic).

abhayaṁkara, add to R. iv. 22. 30, Mbh. vii. 21. 34 (both epics, between R.V. and P.).

aha = *atha*! Comm. to R. ii. 54. 37: *garvarīm adya tavā 'grame uṣitāḥ smo 'ha vasatīm amijānātu no bhavān*.

ahatavāsas also occurs in R. ii. 91. 64, *sarve cā 'hatavāsasaḥ ākulāvartā* (Sarayū), add to *Tamasā* (v. s. *ākula*), R. vii. 110. 2.

āvalī, short in R. vi. 69. 36-37, but long in the same verse B. 49. 22-23.

kathā, in *svasvanāmakathām* (*uktā*), R. vi. 42. 44.

**kṛtaghnaghna*; °*āya devāya namaḥ*, R. vi. 105. 20.

**gaṇe* (= *gaṇayāmī*); *mānuṣān na gaṇe*, R. vii. 16. 42.

gam + *samadhi* as study; add (to reference from Manu) Mbh. xviii. 5. 67.

**cara*, PW. 2. e), starred in pw.; *carabudhāv iva*, Mars and Mercury, R. B. v. 5. 23; usually as in B. iv. 12. 25, *budhāṅgāra-kāu*, or *aṅgārakabudhāu*.

¹ Starred in pw.

**cikīrṣutva*, *striyāḥ priya*°, R. B. ii. 113. 6.

jayāvaha, 'victory-bringing,' rare; add *ādityahṛdayam* . . *jayāvaham*, R. vi. 105. 4 (not in B.).

**tiṣya*, as masc. = *kalī* (starred in pw.); *tudā tiṣyaḥ pravartate*, R. vi. 35. 14 (B. *tretā*).

**tvara*, *tvarāt* = *tvarayā*; add to reference from "nur Bhāg. P." (pw.), R. vi. 78. 6.

duratikrama, add, to *kāla* in PW., *kālo hi °aḥ*, R. iii. 73. 26; of *dāiva*, ib. vii. 50. 4 and 18.

dviguṇīkṛta. There are references enough to later literature, but the word also occurs in one epic phrase, *dviguṇīkṛtavikramah*, Mbh. vii. 19. 9 and R. B. vi. 82. 179 (not in C.).¹

nārāyaṇālaya, R. vii. 6. 31. Add to other gods mentioned in PW., s. *ālaya*. This combination unique?

nāigama (in further illustration), Vedic: *jānan vāi nāigamān mantrān*, R. vii. 34. 18; 'trader,' *tam riviṣo nāigamayūthavallabhāḥ* (*pratuṣṭuvuḥ*), R. ii. 106. 35 (representatives of the three Aryan castes);² not in B.

**parikha*, sic, R. vi. 42. 16. The Commentator says (of course) *punistvam āraṣam*.

puṇyabhāj, add (in pw.) R. vii. 17. 6: *yena sambhujyase bhīru sa naraḥ puṇyabhāj bhuvi*.

pratikriyā in R. vii. 17. 4: *na hi yuktā tavāi* (a pretty girl) *'tasya rūpasyāi 'vaṁ pratikriyā*. The Commentator says *īdam ācāraṇam* as if *na yuktam tapasi sthātum*, which follows. But the sense is rather, "you ought not to injure your good looks by asceticism," PW. 2).

**prātyavāyika*, R. vi. 64. 8, sic, but *prāty*°, B. 43. 8 (*phalam*).

**mahākūpa*. I find only lexicographic citation for this word, which occurs (first) in R. v. 47. 20 (*ivā 'vṛtas tṛṇāḥ*).

māhāprasthānika (*m vidhim*), sic, R. vii. 109. 3 = *māhāprasthānikīm vidhim*, B. 114. 3.

muhūrtakam, add, to reference in Mbh., R. B. vii. 13. 15 (not in C). One of several cases of Mbh. R. B. versus C.

¹ Apropos of epic phraseology, I may mention that my collection of epic phrases identical in Mbh. and R. now numbers over two hundred, besides those already published in *Amer. Journal of Philology*, xix. 138.

² The latter quotation is given in PW. s. v. *vallabha* as 'liebling.' The Commentator defines the compound *yūthavallabhāḥ* as *raṇamukhyāḥ*, and I think he is right, *vallabha* having the meaning of pw. 1) b) (starred). The high priests, the leaders of the guilds, and the generals are meant.

mūla = samīpa, add R. v. 28. 17 : *udbaddhya venyudgrathanena gīghram, aham gamisyāmi yamasya mūlam*. Usually *sādanam* or *kṣaya* in this connection. The unimportant form *venyudgrathana* = °*grathana* is probably made for the verse. I do not find it in PW.

**meṣāṇḍa*, no ref. in PW. pw.; see *aṇḍa* above.

rājamātra. Worth citing for the phrase retained in epic is R. vii. 31. 3 : *rājā vā rājamātro vā*. Comm.: *rājā* = *kṣatriyaḥ*, *rājamātraḥ* = *akṣatriyaḥ kevalaprabhuḥ*. PW., s. v. "Jeder der auf den Namen *rājā* Anspruch hat," or (under *mātra*) "jeder der *rājan*. heisst, ein *kṣatriya* überhaupt" (explaining the same old phrase).¹ The word *rājan* is often used in the epic for *kṣatriya* (as caste-man) = *rājanya*.

**cūdraghātīn*, epithet of Rāma (not registered), R. vii. 76. 27 (not in B): *surā hi kathayanti tvām āgataṁ cūdraghātīnam*. Compare *cūdraghna*.

**ṣaḍardhanayanah* (*ṣṛimān mahādevo vṛṣadhvajah*), R. vi. 117. (119). 3 ; the same with (B.) *sa ca trinayanah*. Not registered.

saptadvīpasamudrā pṛthivī, R. vii. 37. pr. 1. 56 may be added to citations under *saptadvīpa*.

amatā. To illustrate with one more example what is already well illustrated in PW.: R. vii. 59. pr. 3. 20 : *catrān mītre ca te dṛṣṭiḥ amatām yāti Rāghava*; 21, *yasya ruṣyasi vāi Rāma tasya mṛtyur vidhāvati, gīyase tena vāi Rāma Yama ity abhivikramah*. But *vidhāv* is used here in rather an odd way, perhaps an *apapāṭha* for *hi dhāvati*, as in B. 64. 21. Note Rāma as Yāma.

**Samvṛta*, name of a hell in R. vii. 53. 6 : *pāurakāryāṇi yo rājā na karoti dine dine | samvṛte narake ghore patito nā 'tra samcayah*. B. has *sa mrto . . pacyate*. The Commentator recognizes the word *samvṛta*, and explains it as 'stifling,' *vāyusparśahina*. Perhaps the pādas are taken as one euphonic whole and *samvṛte* stands for *asamvṛte*, the hell of Manu iv. 81 : so '*samvṛtaṁ nāma tamaḥ . . sajjati*, which is supported by Vas. xviii. 15 : so '*samvṛtaṁ tamo ghoram . . prapadyate*. On the other hand the *samvṛtaṁ loke* of Kāuṣ. Up. i. 1 may be compared.²

¹ In pw. the second definition is, "ein Mann fürstlichen Ansehens."

² Here one might fancy that the king was anxious to know whether the priest was going to sacrifice in such a way as to send the king to hell; but probably in that case no special hell would be mentioned.

sulohita, R. vi. 41. 18, to be inserted between citations from Upaniṣad and Purāṇa.

hiranya, 'silver,' Comm. to R. i. 74. 5; ii. 76. 15; vii. 91. 21. The last passage reads: *suvarṇakoṭyo bahulā hiraṇyasya gato 'ttarāḥ* (in 94. 20 the antithesis is 'gold and wealth,' *dravya*). On all these passages the Commentator remarks that *hiranya* is *rajata* (i. e. *rajatam hiraṇyam*) in distinction from *suvarṇa*, gold. The meaning is most pronounced in the last quotation, which may be added to the first two already given in PW. 1) a).

Slight as is the gain in thus enumerating here and there an additional passage or an occasional newly-found word, I think it is a real gain from two points of view, and I take this opportunity to specify them. In view of the monumental work of our great lexicographer, it would seem like casting a useless pebble on a full beach to add even much more, and I may say once for all that the minute study of the great thesaurus of Böhrtlingk (PW. and pw.) required by the contribution of even one new word or reference only accentuates one's admiration for the marvelous completeness of the collection and the indefatigable thoroughness with which it has been made. It seems impossible that any one should be able to register thus fully the minutiae of so enormous a literature.

But the gain in adding a mite is two-fold. In the first place it brings out more clearly the reliability of the native scholars, whose words have at times necessarily been incorporated without citation. It is also a pleasure to remove the half-incredulous star which blots *meṣāṇḍa* and such words, accepted only on authority and without literary evidence. Secondly, it is agreeable to one's historical sense to uncover any links between the old and new and show that a connection really existed; to know that *abhayaṃkara*, for instance, is found between R. V. and Purāṇa, and then to establish its epic currency by showing that the Mahābhārata as well as the Rāmāyaṇa has the word. To me any such laying-in of the historical picture is its own reward, however faint the mark made. At the same time it is proper to acknowledge one's own fallibility. In my last list, vol. xx. 1, p. 19, I was in error in citing *vārtānukarṣaka* as a compound not in the Lexicon.

I subjoin some manoeuvres of wrestlers, R. vi. 40. 23 sq. (not in B.). They are described in 18: *ālīṅgya bāhuyoktrāḥ saṃyojyām āsatur āhave*. They then begin their tricks:

*maṇḍalāni vicitrāṇi sthānāni vivīdhāni ca
gomutrakāṇi citrāṇi gatapratyāgatāni ca.*

These are found in the Mahābhārata.¹ It seems to make little difference whether the tricky opponents are on foot or in a chariot; the terms of the art remain about the same. The next verses give some new terms; some of them of obvious meaning, none of much importance, except as showing a technique rather more advanced than that described in the other epic.

*tiraṣṣṇāgatāny eva tathā vakragatāni ca
parimokṣaṁ prahārāṇāṁ varjanāṁ paridhāvanam
abhidraṇāṇāṁ* āplāvam*² avasthānāṁ savigraham
parāvṛttam*³ apāvṛttam*⁴ upadrutam*⁵ avaplitum
upanyastam* apanyastam* yuddhamārgaviṣāradāu
tū viceratur anyonyam.*

3. Grammatical notes.

1. *Patinā*, 'husband,' Mbh. iii. 69. 41; so R. vii. 49. 17 (*apāpā, patinā tyaktā*).

2. *Brahmaṇā lokakarṣṇā (bhagavatā)*, R. vii. 37. pr. 1. 10.

3. *Te* for *tvām!* R. vii. 49. 10: *apāpāṁ vedmī, Sīte, te (B. tvām)*. Compare Pischel, ZDMG. xxxv. 715.

4. *Yāntī* is common enough to need no special mention, R. vii. 26. 47, etc.

¹ Compare my *Ruling Caste*, p. 353, note.

² Compare *āpluta* in military sense. The word *āplāva* is starred in pw. It is defined here by the Commentator as 'sneaking slowly up to the opponent.' The preceding word is cited (in pw.) from later literature.

³ This word is also starred in pw. but defined as 'das Sichwälzen,' which doubtless describes *parāvṛttam* well enough, the Commentator here saying *parāṇmukhagamanam*.

⁴ This word is also starred in pw., but defined as 'das Sichwälzen eines Pferdes,' here obviously unsuitable. The Commentator explains it as 'creeping up from the side.'

⁵ This and the following, except *avaplitum*, which is here defined as trying to seize the opponent's foot, are not found in the lexicons. Like the preceding they are termini technici expressing special manoeuvres which, in so far as they are not of self-evident meaning, are explained by the Commentator probably in a very arbitrary manner. The combination *apani + as* is noteworthy. According to the Commentator it expresses here an extension of the arm to seize the opponent's arm.

5. A case of *mā* with future imperative occurs in R. B. vii. 38. 113: *mā vinācam gamiṣyadhvam*, where C., 35. 63, has the first person, *gamiṣyāma* (sic).

6. *Anv-ajāgrat* = *ajāgarit*, R. ii. 50. 50.

7. *Vinā* with precedent ablative: *bhartus tasmād aham vinā*, R. vii. 24. 14 (*mayā vinā*, 13).

8. Locative: *asyām evā 'param vākyaṁ kathāyām upacākrāme*, R. vii. 80. 1.

9. Double abstract: *sattvatā*, R. vii. 22. 10 (*laghu°*).

10. Inverted bahuvrīhi: *dṛṣṭvā daṇḍotyatām Yamam*, R. vii. 22. 36. Compare *udīte vimale candre, tulyaparvatavarcaṣi*, ib. 26. 2, "the moon rose glorious as (*tulya*) Kāñlāsa."

11. Example of late epic syntax, *Uttarakāṇḍa* (vii. 23. pr. 5. 39): *nṛtyantyaḥ paçyate tāñs tu*, nom. for acc., fem. for masc., middle for active.

4. Archaeological notes.

On page 36 of my *Notes from India* in the last volume of this Journal (vol. xix. Second Half) I have raised the question whether we can trust the archaeological data of sculptures; whether the north *torāṇa* at Sānchi reproduces a conventionalized headstall, which obtains, as I showed from still later sculptures, after the bit is in actual use. In connection with this matter Professor Burgess has recently sent me photographs of horses wearing bits (and showing perfectly the twofold, in distinction from the three-fold, headstall, spoken of *loc. cit.* p. 30), as represented at Bhāja, presumably c. 200, B. C. Either Sānchi precedes this date, as here the north *torāṇa* has no bitted horses, or conserves older forms, as do other sculptures and even wall-paintings, which have been repudiated by the artists of the other *torāṇas*.

Professor Burgess informs me that on p. 39 of the article referred to, when speaking of "bands around the thighs" of the veiled Jain at Bādāmi, I should have said "snakes coiling round his legs." The misquotation was due to lack of proper references when the note was made, on the spot, and not verified afterwards. The incidental statement that in this same cave a Buddha is represented is kindly criticized by the same correspondent, who says, "I am not aware that a figure of Buddha has ever been found in a Jain cave or vice versa."

On page 163 of my *Ruling Caste*, note, I have instanced; from the older epic, rules of safe-conduct in the case of the ambassador.

At the same time I remarked, "There is evidence that his rights were not always maintained." This is putting it mildly from the point of view of the didactic Rāmāyaṇa, which advocates a looser morality in this regard, and says that, although killing an ambassador is not permissible, yet if he speak unpleasantly he may be disfigured, beaten with a whip, shorn, or branded. This is in fact the law, but the practice may perhaps have extended to death, for in the epic scene the king desires this and cites the rule, "no sin in slaying sinners", the sinner here being one that bears an unpleasant, *apriya*, message. "No, no," says the pious adviser, *na dūtavadhyān pravādanti santaḥ*; "but the permitted punishments, *dṛṣṭā bahavo daṇḍāḥ*, you may inflict on an ambassador are *vāirūpyam aṅgeṣu kaṣā'bhigṛāto mānuḍyaṇ tathā lakṣaṇasannipātaḥ*, *etān hi dūte pravādanti daṇḍān vadhas tu dūtasya na naḥ gruto 'stī*, R. v. 52. 11, 14-15; or as B. has it: *evamvidhān arhati rūkṣavādī daṇḍeṣu dūtasya vadho na dṛṣṭaḥ* (48. 6)." In C. it is a question of the ambassador being *persona non grata*:

C. 19: *sādhur vā yadī vā 'sādhur parāir eṣa samarpitaḥ
bruvan parārthaṁ paravān na dūto vadham arhati.*

In B. it is question of the nature of the speech:

B. 10: *sādhv vā yadī vā 'sādhv parāir vacanam arpitam
bruvan parārthaṁ dharmajño na vadham prāptum
arhati.*

To take up another point touched upon in the *Ruling Caste*, the commentator to the Rāmāyaṇa gives *sādhin* as synonymous with *sārathī*, and explains *mahāratha* in R. vi. 71. 19 as driven by four charioteers (or as containing this number), the descriptive epithet in the text being *catuḥsādisamāyuktaḥ*. This is worth mentioning, but I do not believe it. The same commentator, on R. vi. 69. 27, explains the troublesome word *anukarṣa* (*Ruling Caste*, p. 242; *Notes from India*, p. 35) as a piece of wood fastened over the axle to hold the pole, the most probable explanation yet given, as this block is always dragged with the car, and gets separated from it easily.

The Vedic word návedas.—By HERMANN COLLITZ, Professor
in Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penna.

THE adjective *návedas* is found exclusively in the Rigveda, and there in only seven passages. The general opinion is that it is connected with the root *vid* 'to know,' and it is accordingly supposed to mean 'cognizant of' or 'mindful of' or 'witness.'

An entirely different view is held by Professor Ludwig, who has generally the translation 'Sänger' (singer) or 'singender Verkünder' (singing harbinger). In one instance (RV. i. 34. 1) Ludwig leaves *návedasū* untranslated, while in another (x. 31. 3) he hesitates between the translation 'Sänger' and 'Finder.' I may refrain, I think, from arguing at length against Ludwig's view, since, as far as I know, nobody has accepted it. So I will only say that in my opinion Ludwig is right both in rejecting (see his Commentary, vol. iv. pp. 21 and 231) the current derivation of *návedas* from root *vid* 'to know' and in assuming that it is connected with a verb meaning 'to sing.' Yet it does not, in my opinion, refer to a person who sings but to one who is sung.

If we examine the passages in which the word *návedas* occurs, we cannot fail to recognize that in the majority of cases it is used of a god, who is invited to receive the homage of the sacrificers. In view of the general character of the Vedic hymns this seems to require for *návedas* a more significant meaning than that of 'cognizant of.' The gods are in the Rigveda not generally invoked merely to take notice of the sacrificers, but to honor them with their presence, to receive favorably their offerings and hymns, and to bestow upon them rewards.

návedas, in my opinion, is synonymous with adjectives like *īdya-* or *īdēnya-*, and the meaning of the formula *návedā(s) bhuvas* is 'be the recipient of praise,' or, if a genitive is added, 'receive in thy praise,' 'receive as an homage' i. e. 'accept graciously.'

It will easily be seen that this translation fits every one of the passages concerned.

RV. i. 34. 1 (in a hymn to the Aśvins):

trīc cin no adyā bhavataṁ navedasā,

“Three times today become the recipients of our praise.”¹

i. 165. 13 (a hymn addressed to the Maruts):

eṣāṁ bhūta nāvedā ma ṛtānām,

“Receive as an homage these my pious works.”

Quite similarly iv. 23. 4:

devó [i. e. Indra] bhuvan nāvedā ma ṛtānām

nāmo jagṛbhvāñ abhī yáj jūjoṣat,

“May the god accept graciously my pious works,

having received the homage in which he takes pleasure.”

v. 12. 3:

kāyā no agna ṛtáyann ṛtēna

bhūvo nāvedā ucāthasya návyah,

“How, O Agni, performing rightly the sacred order,

mayst thou become the gracious recipient of our newest hymn.”

I take *návyas*, with Oldenberg, *SBE.* xli. 394, to be the equivalent of *návyasas*. Similarly the ablative *ánhas*, R.V. vi. 3. 1, according to Lanman, *Noun-Infl. in the Veda*, p. 563, stands for *ánhasas*. These irregular forms may have been suggested by the genitive *uśás* = *uśásas*, where *uśás* is the regular and earlier form; or by compounds like *sadaspati* for *sadasas-pati*.

v. 55. 8:

yát pūrvyām maruto yác ca nātananā

yád udyáte vasavo yác ca śasyáte

vīcvasya tásya bhavathā nāvedasañ,

“Whatever was formerly, O Maruts, and whatever is now,

either spoken or recited, O Vasus,

of all of it you are the gracious recipients.”

x. 31. 3:

abhy ā naṣma suvitásya śūśām

nāvedaso amṛtānām abhūma,

“We have obtained the hymn of prosperity,

we have become the recipients of praise from the immortals.”

It may seem strange that here the gods should be the ones to sing a hymn in praise of the worshippers. Yet this idea is in strict accordance with the spirit of this peculiar hymn, which opens with the words:

¹ In the traditional text the word *navedasā* has the accent of a vocative; but, as Grassmann in a note to his translation remarks, its syntactical value is predicative, or, in other words, the traditional accent is probably wrong, and *nāvedasā* not vocative but nominative.

ā no devānām ūpa vetu śāṁso,

"May the praise of the gods come to us."

The idea apparently is that the singer has succeeded in inducing the gods, not only to honor the sacrifice by their presence, but also to take an active part in it by pronouncing their benediction upon the assembly. A situation like this is less surprising in the tenth maṇḍala than it would be in any other book of the Rīg-veda.

In every one of the foregoing passages the adjective *nāvedas* was accompanied by a form of the verb *bhū*. There remains one passage in which *nāvedas* occurs without this verb; viz., the first strophe of the hymn R.V. i. 79 :

*hiraṇyakeṣo rūjaso viśārē
'hīr dhānīr vāta iva dhṛājīmān
śūcibhrājā uśāso nāvedā
yūgasvatīr apasyūvo nā satyāḥ.*

In the latest translation (by Professor Oldenberg, *SBE.* xlv. 103) this strophe is rendered thus :

"The golden-haired in the expanse of the atmosphere,
the roaring snake, is hasting (through the air) like the wind ;
the brightly resplendent watcher of the dawn,
he who is like the glorious, ever active and truthful (goddesses)."

"Agni, the watcher of the dawn," would make such a poetical figure, that it seems almost a pity to object to this translation. Yet it is probably more poetical than in accordance with the meaning of the text. Oldenberg himself seems to have felt this, since in a note he suggests that the text should be corrected so as to read *uśāso nā nāvedāḥ*, "a knower (of sacrifices) like the dawns," or *uśāsām nāvedāḥ*, "a knower of the dawns." Two of Oldenberg's suggestions agree in that he supposes *uśāsas* to represent a genitive. Yet *uśāsas* may just as well be nominative plural ; and since we have in the following line three adjectives referring to *uśāsas* in the nominative plural, there can be little doubt that this construction is preferable. I am glad to agree in this respect with Professor Lanman, who in his treatise on *Noun-Inflection in the Veda*, p. 565, proposes to read *śūcibhrājās[a] uśāso nāvedās*, translating: "Bright gleaming are the dawns, his companions." I should prefer, however, to supply, instead of *santi* 'they are,' the verb form which in all other cases we have found with *nāvedas*, viz., the imperative or subjunctive of the

verb *bhū*. The formula *návedās bhavantu* or *návedās bhuvan* is then to be construed with both *hīranyakeṣo* and *uśāsas*, and our translation will be this:

“The golden-haired (Agni) in the expanse of the atmosphere,
the dragon raging like the rushing wind,
(and) the bright gleaming dawns,
the glorious, ever active and truthful ones,
(shall be) the recipients of our praise.”

If our interpretation of the foregoing passages is correct, the question of the derivation of the word *návedas* may be easily disposed of. It is agreed upon on all sides that the word is a compound, consisting of the two parts *na-* and *-vedas*. If the meaning is ‘receiving praise,’ the second part is derived from the root *vid* ‘to find, to get,’ and identical with the noun *védas* ‘gettings, property,’ and with the second part of compounds like *viśvā-vedas* ‘all-possessing’ or ‘all-obtaining’; *sá-vedas* ‘sharing in acquisition’ or ‘sharing in possession,’ and others.

The first part, then, *na-*, would mean ‘praise.’ There is, to be sure, no such word in this meaning either in Vedic or in later Sanskrit. Yet there is in both the earlier and the later periods the verb *nu* ‘to exult, to praise,’ the present stem of which is in the RV. generally *náva-*. From this verb are derived the nouns *náviṣṭi-* (fem.) and *nává-* (masc.), both of which mean ‘praise’ or ‘song of praise.’ Our conclusion is that *návedas* stands for **náva-vedas*, and that the shortening of the compound is due to the fact that the final syllable of the first part and the initial syllable of the second part began with the same consonant. An exact parallel to the omission of the syllable *va* under the same conditions is found in the Vedic compound *śé-ṛdha* ‘kindly, friendly,’ which, as Grassmann has recognized, is a shortened form for **śéva-ṛdha* (literally ‘welfare-increasing’). For other examples of the same kind I may refer to Professor Bloomfield’s instructive articles on ‘haplogy’ in the *Proceedings of the Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. xvi. pp. xxxiv–xxxviii, and in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xvii. pp. 415–422; also to Wackernagel’s *Altind. Grammatik*, pp. 279–280, and Brugmann’s *Grundriss d. vgl. Gramm.*, i.² pp. 859–860.

Certain parallel developments in Pāli and New Persian phonology.—By LOUIS H. GRAY, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

It is a well-known fact in linguistics that languages which are entirely without influence one on the other often show a striking similarity in their development. The Indo-Iranian group is especially instructive in this regard, for its time limit extends from the period of Indo-Iranian unity to the present day, while its geographical area stretches from the Sinhalese in the south to the Māzandarānī in the north, and from the Kurdish in the west to the Bangali in the east. Between the Indian and the Iranian divisions of the Aryan dialects a development may be traced which is frequently closely parallel. It is my purpose in the near future to discuss the broader question of these cases of similarity in some detail. Here I can touch only upon certain points of resemblance in the phonology of the Pāli as compared with that of the New Persian, which forms my special subject of investigation for the present.

Although these two languages are spoken in territories which are separated so widely, they nevertheless occupy almost identical relations to the Indo-Iranian parent speech. The abrupt change between the Sanskrit and the Pāli-Prākṛit in the Indian branch, as compared with the transition grade of the Pahlavi in Iranian, is due in great part to the long preservation of the Sanskrit as a learned language. That close attention to the preservation of the written language which is so marked in India never existed in Iran. So it is that we find in Persia the successive changes in language recorded for us in the literature, while in India the Pāli-Prākṛit appear at once as finished languages. All coincidences between the Pāli and the New Persian which I am about to note¹ are due solely to the operation in both dialects of the laws of development which govern the Indo-Iranian languages in general. I do not mean to imply for an instant any idea of a

¹ I pass over unnoticed those phenomena of the Pāli which do not exist at all in New Persian, such as a discussion of the Indian cerebrals or a consideration of the laws of *sandhi*.

mutual influence of the Pāli and the New Persian. With these words by way of introduction, I now proceed to state as briefly as possible the main points of similarity between the Pāli and the New Persian so far as their phonology is concerned.

A. Vowels.

Indo-Iranian *a*.—Indo-Iranian *a* is in general retained unchanged both in Pāli and in New Persian. Skt. *bharati* 'he bears,' Pāli *bharati*, New Pers. *barud*.

Indo-Iranian *a* becomes *i*. Skt. *tanasa* 'darkness,' Pāli *timisa* (cf. Avestan *tamah*); Av. *atarš* 'fire,' New Pers. *ataš*, *ātiš*.

Indo-Iranian *a* becomes *u* (especially in the neighborhood of labials). Skt. *pañcaviṣati* 'twenty-five,' Pāli *pañṇaviṣati*; Av. *vazra* 'mace,' New Pers. *gurz*.

Indo-Iranian *ā*.—Indo-Iranian *ā* is in general retained. Skt. *dhārayati* 'he holds,' Pāli *dhāreti*, New Pers. *dāšt*.

Indo-Iranian *ā* becomes *e*. Skt. *māṭṛka* 'maternal,' Pāli *metti-ka*; cf. New Pers. *tiv* (older form *tēv*)¹ beside *tāv*.

Indo-Iranian *ā* becomes *o*. Skt. *dhāvati* 'he washes,' Pāli *dhovati*; Av. *pāiti* 'he protects,' New Pers. *pūyīdan* 'to run,' (older form *pōyīdan*) beside *pāyīdan*.

Indo-Iranian *ā* becomes *ū* (only in cases of analogy, following forms whose *ū* is regular. See Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, 135-136, Torp, *Flexion des Pāli*, 35). Skt. *viñā* 'wise,' Pāli *viññū* (root *jñā*); Old Pers. *āmāta* 'tested,' New Pers. *āmādan*.

Indo-Iranian *i*.—Indo-Iranian *i* is in general retained. Skt. *iva* 'as,' Pāli *iva*; Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' New Pers. *pidar*.

Indo-Iranian *i* becomes *a*. Skt. *pṛthivī* 'earth,' Pāli *paṭhavī*; Skt. *hima* 'winter,' New Pers. *zam*.

Indo-Iranian *i* becomes *u* (in New Pers. chiefly in the vicinity of labials). Skt. *rājila* 'lizard,' Pāli *rājula*; Av. *spiš* 'louse,' New Pers. *supuš*, *šupuš*, *špuš*.

¹ The archaic pronunciation as well as that now current in India is *tēv*. Following the modern pronunciation, I have everywhere written *ī* and *ū* even for *ē* and *ō* corresponding to Old Persian *ai*, *au*, Av. *aē*, *ao*, Pahl. *ē*, *ō*. Had I been dealing with the New Persian development only, I should have written now *ē*, now *ō*, according to the etymology. In dialectic words I have not ventured to depart from Horn's transcription. Cf. further, Spiegel, *KB*. iii. 77-81; Darmesteter, *Études Iraniques*, i. 104-110; Horn, *Grundriss der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 32-33; and Hübschmann, *KZ*. xxxvi. 153-163.

Indo-Iranian *ī*.—Indo-Iranian *ī* is in general retained. Skt. *jīvita* 'life,' Pāli *jīvita*; Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' New Pers. *šīr* (older form also *šīr*).

Indo-Iranian *u*.—Indo-Iranian *u* is in general retained. Skt. *bhūñjati* 'he eats,' Pāli *bhūñjati*; Av. *uštra* 'camel,' New Pers. *uštūr*.

Indo-Iranian *u* becomes *a*. Skt. *sphurati* 'he flashes,' Pāli *pharati*; Av. *yuvan* 'young man,' New Pers. *juvān* beside *javān*.

Indo-Iranian *u* becomes *i*. Skt. *duṇḍubhi* 'drum,' Pāli *din-dima*; Old Pers. *pušra* 'son,' New Pers. *pīscar* beside *pusar*.

Indo-Iranian *u* becomes *o* (in Pāli especially before double consonants). Skt. *ulka* 'torch,' Pāli *okkā*; Av. *uši* 'understanding,' New Pers. *hūš* (older form *hōš*, cf. Pahl. *hōš*).

Indo-Iranian *ū*.—Indo-Iranian *ū* is in general retained. Skt. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pāli *bhūmi*, New Pers. *bām* (older form also *bām*).

Indo-Iranian *ū* becomes *ī*. Skt. *bhūyas* 'more,' Pāli *bhīya*, *bhīyya*; cf. Av. *raoda* 'face,' New Pers. *rī* beside *rūi* (the *ī* in this latter is a dialectic peculiarity, and it has come through the transition grade of *ū*. The older form of the common New Pers. *rūi* is *rōi*; cf. Pahl. *rōd*, and see Horn, *KZ.* xxxv. 178-179; Hübschmann, *KZ.* xxxvi. 155).

Indo-Iranian *r*.—Indo-Iranian *r*, which is represented in Avestan by *ṛ* and in Old Persian by *ar* (Bartholomae, *Grundriss der iran. Philol.*, i. 168-169; Horn, *ibid.* i. b. 26) has been changed in Pāli and New Persian¹ into *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, or into *r* accompanied by *a*, *i*, *u*. The quality of the vowel in the change here considered is in general determined by the character of the consonants which stand near the original *r*. The normal sound arising from an original *r* is *a*, but labials color the vowel to *u(r)*, and sibilants color it to *i(r)*.

Indo-Iranian *r* becomes *a*. Skt. *gṛha* 'house,' Pāli *gaha*; Skt. *prḍaku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *palang*; Skt. *ṛṇīyāt* 'he should rend,' New Pers. *darram* 'I rend' (Hübschmann, *KZ.* xxxvi. 174).

Indo-Iranian *r* becomes *i*. Skt. *mṛga* 'deer,' Pāli *miga*; Skt. *hrd* 'heart,' New Pers. *dīl*.

¹ See now Hübschmann, "Vocalisches *r* im Persischen," *KZ.* xxxvi. 165-175. Here it is shown that New Pers. *ar* is to be derived from Indo-Iranian *ar*, while New Pers. *īr*, *ur* arise from Indo-Iranian *r*.

Indo-Iranian *r* becomes *u*. Skt. *vr̥ṣṭi* 'rain,' Pāli *vuṭṭhi*; Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha* 'back,' Av. *par̥šti*, New Pers. *pušt*. Note also New Pers. *kunād* 'he makes' and Old Pers. *akutā*, *akunauš*, as compared with Skt. *kṛṇōti*, *kṛta*, *akṛṇōt* (similarly also Skt. *gṛṇōti* 'he hears,' New Pers. *šunād*).

Indo-Iranian *r* becomes *e*. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house,' Pāli *geha* (this form has found its way also into the Sanskrit (Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i. 39-40); Av. *varəša* 'forest,' New Pers. *bīšah* (Horn, 35).

Indo-Iranian *r* becomes *ar*. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house,' Pāli *ghara* (Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Pāli-Grammatik*, 15-16); Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' New Pers. *barnā* beside *burnā* (the latter form is etymologically the correct one; cf. Hübschmann, *KZ.* xxxvi. 174).

Indo-Iranian *r* becomes *ir*. Skt. *ṛtvij* 'brahmanical priest,' Pāli *iritvija*; Skt. *kṛmī* 'worm,' New Pers. *kirm*.

Indo-Iranian *r* becomes *ur*. Skt. *vṛkṣa* 'tree,' Pāli *rukḁha*; Av. *barəza* 'high,' New Pers. *burz*.

It is further to be noted that the vowel *r* may develop into different vowels in the same word. Skt. *mṛga* 'deer,' Pāli *maga* and *miga*; Skt. *vr̥ddhi* 'increase,' Pāli *vuḁddhi* and *vaḁddhi*; Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' New Pers. *barnā* and *burnā*; Skt. *pṛḁaku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *palang* and *pilang* (Horn, 21).

Indo-Iranian *ē*.—Indo-Iranian *ē* (Indo-Germanic *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, [*ai*], *ei*) is in general retained unchanged. Skt. *deva* 'god,' Pāli *deva*, Av. *daēva* 'demon,' New Pers. *div* (older form *dēv*).

Indo-Iranian *ē* becomes *i* (particularly before double consonants). Skt. *prativeçaka* 'neighboring,' Pāli *paṭivissaka*; Av. *pairidaēza* *παράδεισος*, New Pers. *diz* or *diž* beside *diz* (older form *dēz*, in Pahlavi *dezš* is also found).

Indo-Iranian *ō*.—Indo-Iranian *ō* (Indo-Germanic *au*, *eu*, *ou*, [*au*], *eu*) is in general retained unchanged. Skt. *bhojana* 'food,' Pāli *bhojana*; Old Pers. *dauštār* 'friend,' New Pers. *dāšt* (older form, as in Pahlavi, *dōšt*).

Indo-Iranian *ō* becomes *u* (particularly before double consonants). Skt. *jyotsna* 'moon-lit night,' Pāli *jumha*; Old Pers. *kaufa* 'hill,' New Pers. *kuh* beside *kūh* (older form *kōh*, cf. Pahlavi *kōf*).

No close parallel between the Pāli and the New Persian can be shown as regards the treatment of *ē* and *ō*. The Pāli *e* and *o* are pronounced short before two consonants (Frankfurter, *Handbook of Pāli*, 2), and they thus become capable of interchange with

other vowels. This is not the case in New Persian. In like manner the change in Pāli of the long diphthongs to the short ones is not paralleled in New Persian. In the Iranian we find the long diphthongs *āi* and *āu* preserved without change in the few instances in which they occur. As examples of the treatment of the long diphthongs in the Pāli and New Persian we may cite the following words: Skt. *āikāgārika* 'thief,' Pāli *ekāgārika*; Skt. *Gāutama* nom. prop., Pāli *Gotama*; Skt., Av. *rāi* 'radiance,' New Pers. *rāy* (archaic); Skt. *nāu* 'boat,' New Pers. *nāv* (cf. Horn, 38-39).

Besides these cases we find many sporadic changes in quantity for which no fixed rule can be laid down.

ā becomes *a*. Skt. *prajñāvant* 'wise,' Pāli *paññavā*; Av. *kahr-kāsa* 'vulture,' New Pers. *kargas*.

ī becomes *i*. Skt. *alīka* 'false,' Pāli *alika*; New Pers. *āyīnah* 'mirror' beside *āyīnah*.

ū becomes *u*. Skt. *gālūka* 'root of the water-lily,' Pāli *sālūka* beside *sālūka*; Skt. *tūrya* 'musical instrument,' Pāli *turiya*; Av. *gūša* 'excrement,' New Pers. *guh* beside *gūh* (older form also *gūh*, cf. Pahlavi *guh* and *gūh*).

a becomes *ā*. Skt. *pratyamitra* 'enemy,' Pāli *paccāmitta*; Skt. *nakha* 'nail,' New Pers. *nāwun*.

i becomes *ī* and *u* becomes *ū* (not in New Persian?). Skt. *Āu-pagīvi* nom. prop., Pāli *Upasīva*; Skt. *nirupakāra* 'useless,' Pāli *nirūpakāra* (cf. Childers *sub voc.* Possibly a popular confusion with *rūpa* 'form' may also have been a factor in changing the *u* of this word to *ū*).

Change of quantity.—In Pāli an original long vowel before an original double consonant is shortened, or else the long vowel may be retained if the double consonant be simplified. Yet again, an original short vowel may receive compensatory lengthening if an original double consonant following be simplified, or an original single consonant may be doubled with a consequent shortening of an original long vowel preceding (Kuhn, 17-21). The first and third of these phenomena are common to Pāli and to New Persian.

An original long vowel is shortened before an original double consonant. Skt. *rāṣṭra* 'kingdom,' Pāli *raṭṭha*; Old Pers. *Bāxtri* nom. prop., New Pers. *Bax*; Pahl. *zīwandak* 'living,' New Pers. *zindah*.

An original short vowel receives compensatory lengthening if an original double consonant following be simplified. Skt. *kar-*

tum 'to do,' Pāli *kātum* beside *kattum*; Old Pers. *puša* 'son,' New Pers. *pūr* (older form also *pūr*); Av. *hučišra* 'beautiful,' New Pers. *hužir*, *hujir*, *xujir* (older forms the same).

Nasalized Vowels.—An original nasalized vowel is occasionally replaced both in Pāli and in New Persian by a long vowel. (May we compare *ā* beside *ā̃* in Avestan, e. g., *dāmi* 'creature' beside *dāmĩ*, *nāman* 'name' beside *nāmañ*? See Jackson, *Avest. Gramm.*, 13; Bartholomae, 172.) Skt. *siṃha* 'lion,' Pāli *sīha*; New Pers. *sā* 'manner' beside *sīn* (in New Pers., however, this phenomenon occurs only after long vowels).

The reverse process, the development of an inorganic anusvāra from a mute, is fairly common in Pāli. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pāli *mahiṃsa*. Here it is not the New Persian but the Kurdish which offers us a parallel for this phenomenon. Kurd. *qāntir* 'donkey' beside *kātir* (from the Turkish *qaṭir*; Socin, *Grundriss der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 258).

Aphaeresis and Syncope.—Aphaeresis occurs sporadically in Pāli. Skt. *alaṅkāra* 'adornment,' Pāli *laṅkāra*; Skt. *idānīm* 'now,' Pāli *dāni*; Skt. *udaka* 'water,' Pāli *ḍaka* (this Middle Indian form has crept into Sanskrit also, Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i. 60). Kuhn, 35, explains the majority of these sporadic cases of aphaeresis in Pāli as being due to the operation of sandhi. In this he is, I think, entirely correct. In New Persian it is a law that initial *a* before a single consonant vanishes (Horn, 20), e. g. Av. *apərəndayu* 'boy,' New Pers. *burnā*; Pahl. *apē* 'without,' New Pers. *bī* beside the older form *abī* (*abē*). So also initial *u* vanishes (through the transition grade of *a*? See Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.*, 138–139; and cf. Skt. *upasthāna* 'honor,' Pahl. *apastān*), e. g., Old Pers. *upariy* 'above,' New Pers. *bar* beside *abar*.

Syncope occurs in both languages. Skt. *duhitā* 'daughter,' Pāli *dhītā*; Skt. *agāra* 'house,' Pāli *agga* from **agra*; Av. *yazatanām* 'of the Angels,' New Pers. *yazdān* 'God'; Av. *pašana* 'broad,' New Pers. *pahn*. We may perhaps also refer to this category the loss of a final vowel of a word which becomes the first member of a compound, e. g., Skt. *apvatara* 'mule,' New Pers. *astar*; Av. *zairigaona* 'having a golden color,' New Pers. *zaryūn*; Av. *daiṇhu-paiti* 'lord of the land,' New Pers. *dihgān* 'village chief' (cf. the Armen. loan-word *dehpet*).

Prothesis, Epenthesis, and Anaptyxis.—Prothesis is excessively rare in Pāli. The only case seems to be Skt. *strī*

‘woman,’ Pāli *itthī* (cf. *itthī* in the Aṣoka inscriptions, Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, ii. 330). Pischel, *Ved. Stud.*, i. 17, compares for a similar instance of prothesis Skt. *iṣkṛta* ‘arranged’ from the root (s)kar. On the other hand Bartholomae, *Stud. zur indog. Sprachgeschichte*, i. 122–123, denies absolutely the existence of any prothetic vowel in Sanskrit. (Cf. also Uhlenbeck, *Etymol. Wörterbuch der altind. Sprache*, 26.) Prothesis is quite common in New Pers., since no word in this language may begin with a consonant group. The quality of the prothetic vowel is generally determined by the consonants originally beginning the word. Skt. *brū* ‘brow,’ New Pers. *abrū*; Av. *spaēta* ‘white,’ New Pers. *ispīd* (older form *ispēd*); Av. *stīna* ‘column,’ New Pers. *ustūn* (older form also *ustūn*, cf. Pahlavi *stūn*); Av. *Sraoša* nom. prop., New Pers. *Sarūš* (older form *Sarōš*, cf. Pahlavi *Srōš*); Old Pers. *brātar* ‘brother,’ New Pers. *birādar*; Skt. *kroṣa* ‘cry,’ New Pers. *wurūš* ‘cock’ (older form *wurōš*).

Epenthesis, which is not unknown in New Persian (Horn, 28–29, 34, 37), does not seem to occur in Pāli.

Anaptyxis is rare in Pāli and is found only in late texts. Pāli *ṭhahati* ‘he stands’ beside *ṭhāti* (Kuhn, 35). In New Persian on the contrary it is rather frequent. Av. *āfrīna* ‘blessing,’ New Pers. *āfarīn* (older form also *āfarīn*); Av. *uštra* ‘camel,’ New Pers. *uštūr*.

We find a long anaptyctic vowel in the poetic *pādāhfarāh* ‘recompense’ beside *pādāḥfarāh*; cf. Av. *maṭ-paitīfrasa*. (Compare also the long anaptyctic vowels *ē* and *ō* sometimes found in Avestan; Jackson, *Avest. Gramm.*, 27.) An irregular anaptyxis is found in the New Persian *pādīšāh* ‘king’ beside *pādšāh* (Horn, 41).

B. Consonants.

Gutturals.—The Indo-Germanic gutturals are retained in general unchanged. But a Sanskrit guttural may become a palatal in Pāli, e. g., Skt. *kunda* ‘turner,’ Pāli *cunda*. A similar variation is sometimes found in the Avestan as compared with the Sanskrit (Jackson, *Avest. Gramm.*, 28; Bartholomae, 10; cf. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i. 140). A like interchange of palatals and gutturals is also seen occasionally in Kurdish as compared with the New Persian, e. g., New Pers. *kīk* ‘flea’ (properly written *kaik*), Kurd. *kēč*, *keč* (Socin, *Grundriss der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 264).

. Palatals.—A Sanskrit palatal becomes a guttural in a few words. Skt. *bhiṣaj* ‘physician,’ Pāli *bhisakka* (for Avestan parallels see Jackson and Bartholomae, *loc. cit.*). Skt. *j* sometimes becomes Pāli *ḍ*. Skt. *jīghatsū* ‘hunger,’ Pāli *ḍigacchā* beside *jīghacchā*. Kuhn, 36, assumes the following development: *j* was pronounced *gy*, which became *dy*, which became *ḍḍ*, which became *ḍ*; the change of *c* to *t* was analogous. With this we may compare the Prākṛit *jj* from *dy*. Skt. *pratipadiṣyati* ‘he will approach,’ Prāk. *paṭivajjissadi* (Lassen *Institutiones linguae praepraeiticae*, 206–207). Sanskrit *c* becomes Pāli *t*. Skt. *cikitsā* ‘medicine,’ Pāli *tikicchā* (cf. Skt. *tiṣṭhati* ‘he stands,’ Prāk. *cittḥadi* beside *tiṭṭhadi*, Lassen, 197). Noteworthy in this connection is the Avestan *taṭ-āpəm* ‘with running water,’ Yt. 13. 43 bis, *taṭ-āpō*, Yt. 13. 44 bis (so all manuscripts) beside *taṭ-āpa*, Ys. 16. 8, 68. 8 (cf. *taṭi aipyā* loc. sg. Vd. 6. 26), Jackson, *Avest. Gramm.*, 31. Sanskrit *c(h)* rarely becomes Pāli *s*. Skt. *samuccita* ‘accumulated,’ Pāli *samussita*. This change has a close parallel in the Iranian. Skt. *chāyā* ‘shadow,’ Av. *asaya* ‘shadowless,’ New Pers. *sāyah* ‘shadow.’

Dentals.—The frequent change of Sanskrit dentals into Pāli cerebrals, and the rarer instances of the reverse change are not relevant here. The change of Sanskrit *d(h)* to Pāli *l*, e. g., Skt. *ādīpana* ‘light,’ Pāli *ālīpana*, Skt. *gṛhagodhikā* ‘lizard,’ Pāli *gharagolīkā*, finds only an apparent analogy in a few Persian loan-words (Horn, 57). The Afyān, on the other hand, shows true examples of a change of *ḍ*, *ḍ* to *l*, Geiger, *Grundriss der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 209, cf. also 301. Sanskrit *ḍ* frequently apparently becomes Pāli *y*. Skt. *khādita* ‘eaten,’ Pāli *khāyita* (Müller, *Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language*, 30, compares the *ya-gruti* of the Jainaprākṛit, e. g., Skt. *ekasāṣṭi* ‘sixty-one,’ Jainaprāk. *egasatṭhi*, which becomes *egayatṭhi*, *egavatṭhi*, *egahatṭhi*, and finally *egatṭhi*; cf. his *Beiträge zur Gramm. des Jainaprākṛit*, 3–4). We must, however, regard the *y* in such cases as introduced to avoid the hiatus caused by the loss of the intervocalic *ḍ*, Frankfurter, 10; cf. the Hindī examples in Hoernle, *Gramm. of the Gaudian Lang.*, 16–18, 33. This same phenomenon meets us frequently in New Persian. Skt. *khādati* ‘he eats,’ New Pers. *xāyad*; New Pers. *balāyah* ‘worthless’ beside *balādah*; Pahl. *pātēz* ‘harvest,’ New Pers. *pāyēz* (older form *pāyēz*). A change of Sanskrit *n* to Pāli *r* is correctly postulated by Kuhn, 38. Skt. *Nāirañjana* nom. prop., Pāli *Nerañjara*

(cf. further Greek *Méavdpos*, Pāli *Milindu*, Trenckner, *Pāli Miscellany*, 55; Skt. *enas* 'fault,' Pāli *ela*). With this we may compare the Avestan and Pahlavi forms in *n* beside those in *r*, e. g., Av. *karšvar* 'clime, zone' beside *karšvan*, *zafur* 'jaw' beside *zafun*, Pahl. *Mitnō* nom. prop. beside *Mitrō*, *kant* 'done' beside *kart* (Jackson, 96-97; C. de Harlez, *Manuel du Pehlvi*, 14. Note also the Indo-Germanic doublets in *n* and *r*, e. g., **ahan* 'day' beside **ahar*, etc. Brugmann, *Vergleich. Gramm.*, ii. 353; Norcen, *Urgerm. Lautlehre*, 194-196; Pedersen, *KZ.* xxxii. 240-271).

Labials.—Sanskrit *bh* becomes Pāli *m*. Skt. *dundubhi* 'drum,' Pāli *dindima*. With this we may compare New Pers. *m* arising from *b*. Skt. *bhaṅga* 'bang, hemp,' Av. *baṅha*, Pahl. *mang* beside *bang*, New Pers. *mang*. The change of Sanskrit *m* to *v*, e. g., Skt. *mūmāṁs* 'investigating,' Pāli *vīvaṁs*, finds a reverse process in the New Persian change of *v* to *m*, e. g. New Pers. *arṣumān* 'purple' beside *arṣuvān* (a loan-word from the Semitic, cf. Syr. *arṣvānā* 'purple' [from the Babylonian] according to Pizzi, *Antologia Firdusiana*, 303),¹ or New Pers. *parmānah* 'butterfly' beside *parvānah*.

Semivowels.—The change of *y* to *j*, common to the Prākṛit and the modern vernaculars of India as well as to Pāli, is found in New Persian also. Skt. *yantragṛha* 'bath-room,' Pāli *janṭāghara*, *janṭaggha*; Av. *yāma* 'glass,' New Pers. *jam*. Sanskrit *v* sometimes becomes Pāli *y*. Skt. *dāva* 'forest,' Pāli *dāya*. With this we may compare the Avestan change of intervocalic *v* to *y* (especially between *u* and *e*). Skt. *dvē* 'two,' Av. *duyē*, and more especially Old Pers. *gaubataiy* 'he says,' New Pers. *gūyad* (cf. Horn, 47, *KZ.* xxxv. 179. Older form *gōyad*).

Sanskrit *v* frequently becomes Pāli *ḥ*. Skt. *suvr̥ṣṭi* 'abundance of rain,' Pāli *subbutṭhi*. In New Persian we find a regular change of *v* to *ḥ* before *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *iy*. Av. *vāra* 'rain,' New Pers. *bārān*; Av. *varəta* 'captured,' New Pers. *bardah*; Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' New Pers. *bīd* (older form *bēd*, cf. Pahl. *vēt*); Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' New Pers. *bist* (older form also *bist*); Av. *vī-āpō-tama* (Vd. 3. 15, var. lect. *vyāpa*) 'most without water,' Pahl. *vīyāpān*, New Pers. *bīyābān*. Kuhn, 45, notes a possible change of *v* to

¹ [This word is found in the Semitic languages also with both *m* and *w*: Assy. *argamanna*, Heb. *argmān*; Aram., Syr. *argwān*, *argwānā*. It is probably not of Semitic origin.—Ed.]

bh in Skt. *pratisamvid* (northern Buddhists) 'discrimination,' Pāli *paṭisambhidā*. Childers, however, connects the Pāli word with the root *bhid* 'to split.' If Kuhn's explanation should be correct, one might compare cases of a change of *b* into *v* as a reverse phenomenon in Avestan and New Persian. YAv. *mā-vōya* 'to me,' GAv. *maibyā*; Old Pers. *nipiṣtanaiy* 'to write,' New Pers. *niviṣtan* beside *nibiṣtan*.

The interchange of *r* and *l* is common to both dialects.

r becomes *l*. Skt. *parigha* 'iron beam,' Pāli *paligha*; Av. *Hara Bərəzaiti* nom. prop., New Pers. *Alburz*.

l becomes *r*. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pāli *ārammana*; Skt. *phāla* 'plow,' New Pers. *supār*.

Sibilants.—Sanskrit *ç* is occasionally represented by *ch* in Pāli. Skt. *çava* 'corpse,' Pāli *chava*. Similarly we find in dialectic New Persian *š* for *ç*, e. g. New Pers. *çām* 'night' beside *šām* (Av. *ašāfnyā*). The reverse change of *ch* to *s* is found in the Iranian, e. g., Skt. *chāyā* 'shadow,' Av. *asaya* 'shadowless,' New Pers. *sāyah* 'shadow.'

The rare change in Pāli of a Sanskrit *h* to *s*, e. g., Skt. *snāhika* 'oily,' Pāli *snēsika*, is the reverse of the phenomenon which we find in Avestan, e. g., Skt. *sapta* 'seven,' Av. *hapta*. In Pāli, as in Prakrit, the combination sibilant + nasal may become nasal + *h*. Skt. *praçna* 'question,' Pāli *pañha*.

Interchange of Aspirates and Non-Aspirates.—The Pāli frequently aspirates the tenues and mediae. Skt. *çakti* 'ability,' Pāli *satthi*; Skt. *sukumāra* 'youthful,' Pāli *sukhumāla*; Skt. *pāribhadra* 'a sort of tree,' Pāli *phālībhadra*; Skt. *pratyagra* 'new,' Pāli *paccaggha*. These changes are in the main sporadic. They do not, therefore, offer a true parallel with the specifically Iranian law of spirantization. We may, however, compare the occasional instances in New Persian of the development of *f* from *p*. New Pers. *gūsfund* 'sheep' beside *gūspand* (Av. *gaospənta*), older forms *gōsfund* and *gōspand*; dialectic New Pers. *farāstū(k)* 'swallow' beside *parrastū(k)*.

The opposite process is the change of the aspirate tenues or mediae into tenues or mediae. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Pāli *khudā*; Skt. *khā* 'spring,' Pāli *kā*; Skt. *mṛṣṭa* 'polished,' Pāli *maṭṭa* beside *maṭṭha*. Similar sporadic cases of the loss of aspiration are found in the Iranian. Av. *varədaša* 'growth' beside *varədaya* 'make thou grow' (Skt. *vardhya*); New Pers. (dialectic) *pahmīn* 'to understand' beside *fahmīdan*; *kaptīn* 'to fall'

beside *kaftmān*; cf. also Av. *gaēša* 'world,' New Pers. *gīwī* (older form *gēti*, cf. Pahl. *gētīk*).

A Sanskrit aspirate may become a simple *h* in Pāli. Skt. *laghu* 'light,' Pāli *lahu*; Skt. *rudhira* 'blood,' Pāli *ruhira*; Skt. *bhavati* 'he becomes,' Pāli *hoti*. The same phenomenon appears at times in the New Persian. Av. *gaēšanām* 'of creatures,' New Pers. *gīhān* 'world,' (older form, as in Pahl., *gēhān*); Av. *spāda* 'army,' New Pers. *sipāh*; Av. *taama* 'sturdy,' New Pers. *tah(a)m*; Old Pers. *karīfu* 'hill,' New Pers. *kāh* (older form *kōh*); Old Pers. *ṛō Baylōrtavon ōpos* nom. prop., New Pers. *Bahistān* and *Bahistān* (cf. Spiegel, *Iranische Alterthumskunde*, iii. 813 Anm.).

Interchange of Sonants and Surds.—The substitution of sonants for surds is quite common both in Pāli and in New Persian. Skt. *uta* 'or,' Pāli *uda*; Skt. *vyathayati* 'he trembles,' Pāli *vedhati*; Skt. *parasvant* 'rhinoceros,' Pāli *bala-sata*; Skt. *sruc* 'ladle,' Pāli *sujā*; Skt. *ṣākala* nom. prop., Pāli *Sāgala*; Skt. *nighaṇṭu* 'lexicon,' Pāli *nighaṇḍu*. Since the change of surds into sonants is a regular law in New Persian when the sounds in question stand between vowels or after the sonant consonants *r*, *l*, *n*, we cannot compare the Pāli with the New Persian here. Yet at least one change, that of New Persian *α* to *γ*, seems to belong here. New Pers. *šay* 'horn' beside *šāx* (Skt. *śākhā*). Here also is to be referred the New Persian *δ*, *d* for Avestan *θ* in the New Persian loan-word *Zardušt*, *Zarādušt* nom. prop., Av. *Zaraδuštra*; and such Avestan forms as *frada-šām* 'I brought forth,' Yt. 10. 1. beside *fradaδām*, Frag. 4. 1, (Jackson, *Avest. Gramm.*, 59). In both Pāli and New Persian we often find *v* substituted for the *b* arising from an original *p*. Skt. *kapi* 'monkey,' Pāli *kavi* beside *kapi*; Old Pers. *napāt* 'grandson,' New Pers. *navādah*.

The substitution of a surd for a sonant is quite common in Pāli but exceedingly rare in Iranian. Skt. *pratyāga* 'sacrifice,' Pāli *pāyūka*; Skt. *glasnu* 'lazy,' Pāli *kilāsu*; Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pāli *pabbaja*. As Iranian parallels we may cite from the Avestan *čaraδwe* 'ye go,' Skt. *caradhve*; GAv. *vaēdā* 'he knows' beside GAv. *vaēdā* (Skt. *veda*) (Jackson, *Avest. Gramm.*, 34, but against this view see Bartholomae, 163).

Samprasāraṇa.—In Pāli *ya* often becomes *ī*. Skt. *satyaka* 'true,' Pāli *saccika*; Skt. *vyatihāra* 'long step,' Pāli *vitihāra*. With this phenomenon we may perhaps compare the Avestan

reduction of *ya* before a nasal to *i*. Skt. *hiraṇyam* (acc.) 'golden,' Av. *zaranim*; Av. *iriSinti* 'they perish' for **iriS-yanti*.

Similarly in Pāli *va* often suffers a reduction to *u*. Skt. *laṭvakā* 'quail,' Pāli *laṭukikā*. Here again we may compare Avestan *ñ* from *va* before nasals. Av. *Srišum* (acc.) 'third' from the stem *Srišva-*; Skt. *agrodhvam* 'ye were heard of,' GAv. *asrūždān*. Cf. also, as regards the New Persian, Skt. *pravatā* 'downwards,' New Pers. *furūd* (older form *furōd*, cf. Pahl. *frōt*, and see Horn, *KZ.* xxxv. 183-184).

Contraction arising from the loss of semi-vowels.—The Pāli contracts *aya* and *ayi* to *e* in the most of its causatives and also in some simple verbs, such as Skt. *nayati* 'he leads,' Pāli *neti*. Similarly *āya* becomes *e* in Skt. *palāyati* 'he flees,' Pāli *paleti*; but both *āya* and *aya* frequently become *ā*, as in Skt. (properly Middle Indian) *upatthāyaka* 'servant,' Pāli *upatthāka*. With this change of *aya* to *e* in Pāli we may compare the Avestan reduction of *aya* to *aē* before nasals, e. g., Skt. *ayam* 'this,' Av. *aēm*. In New Persian we find *ē* resulting from a contraction of *aya*, and *ā* being developed from *āya*, *ayā*. Examples of these changes are as follows: Old Pers. **dārayata* 'ye hold' (cf. 1. sg. *dārayāmiy*), New Pers. *dārīd* (older form *darēd*); Old Pers. *asāyaSiya* 'king,' New Pers. *šāh*; Old Pers. *Dārayavanuš* nom. prop., New Pers. *Dārē*, *Dārāb*, *Dārāv*.

The Pāli contraction of *iya* to *i* in Pāli *kittaka* 'how much' for **kiyattaka* (Skt. *kiyant*) may be paralleled in the Iranian by Skt. *priya* 'beloved,' Av. *frya*, New Pers. *frī* (older form also *frī*).

From *ava* the Pāli often develops *o*. Skt. *avara*, *avāra* 'lower, hither,' Pāli *ora* (Professor Jackson suggests to me a comparison also with Av. *aora*); Skt. *prabhavanaka* 'sufficient,' Pāli *pahonaka*. Sometimes the contraction of *ava* results in *u* instead of *o*. Skt. *avajñā* 'contempt,' Pāli *uññā*. Similar contractions are found in the New Persian. Skt. *avasthita* 'firm,' New Pers. *ustām* (older form *ōstām*) beside *ustām*; Skt. *tavas* 'strength,' New Pers. *tūš* (older form *tōš*) beside *taviš* (cf. Horn, *KZ.* xxxv. 187).

Contraction arising from the loss of consonants.—A loss of consonants with a resulting vowel contraction is not unknown in Pāli. In Prākṛit, where the loss of consonants is still more common, a resulting hiatus is seldom avoided by con-

traction. Pāli examples of the phenomenon in question are as follows: Skt. *udaka* 'water,' Pāli *oka*; Skt. *Kuṣinagara* nom. prop., Pāli *Kusināra*; Skt. *paccūṣasamaya* 'dawn,' Pāli *paccūsamaya* (properly a case of haplology); Skt. *ṣaḍaṅgula* 'six inches,' Pāli *chaṅgula*; Skt. *durosārita* 'duly and unduly restored,' Pāli *dosārita*; Skt. *guka* 'parrot,' Pāli *suva* (*v* to avoid hiatus) beside *suka*. Similar to the case of Pāli *suva* 'parrot' is Skt. *Kuṇṇika* 'owl, name of Indra,' Pāli *kosiya*. Cases of the loss of consonants with contraction are less common in New Persian than in Pāli, yet a few examples may be quoted. Pahl. **pātltōspān* from *pātltōs* 'province,' Armen. loan-word *patgosapan*, New Pers. *padūspān* (older form *padōspān*); Balūčī *naṣan* 'bread,' New Pers. *nān* (Hübschmann, 101; Horn, *Grundriss der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 70).

Metathesis.—Metathesis occurs but rarely in Pāli or in New Persian. As Pāli examples we may quote the following words: Skt. *upānah* 'shoe,' Pāli *upāhanā*; Skt. *prāvarana* 'upper garment,' Pāli *pārupana* beside *pāpurana*; Skt. *sakaṭa* 'stupid,' Pāli *kaṣaṭa*; Skt. *cilamṭlikā* 'necklace,' Pāli *cilimiku* beside *ṣmṭlikā*; Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Pāli *gadṛabha*. A case of vowel metathesis is cited by Kuhn, 57, in Skt. *picumanda* 'the nimba-tree,' Pāli *pucimanda*. Metathesis is found occasionally in New Persian. New Pers. *hargiz* 'ever' beside *hagirz*; Av. *karana* 'boundary,' New Pers. *karān(ah)* beside *kanār(ah)*; Skt. *bhīṣaj* 'physician,' New Pers. *bizišk*, *bījišk*, as compared with the Armenian loan-word *bzišk*.

The group *ariya* becomes by metathesis *ayira* in Pāli. This combination is then contracted to *era*. Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Pāli *acchera* beside *acchariya*. The group *ayira* may also give *ira*. Skt. *asamharya* 'unconquerable,' Pāli *asamhāra*. (Cf. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i. 207, on a similar metathesis in the case of *yuv* for *vy* in the texts of the White Yajurveda.) A possible analogy in the New Persian to this metathesis of *y* is the change of *any* to *in* through the transition grade *ain*. Av. *mainyava* 'heavenly,' New Pers. *mīnū* (cf. Hübschmann, *KZ.* xxxvi. 158–159, older form *mēnō*); and a precise parallel to the Pāli rule is furnished by such New Persian words as *irmān* 'guest,' Av. *airyaman* (older form **ērman*, see Horn, *Grundriss der neupers. Etymologie*, 32, Anm. 2, and cf. Pahlavi *ērmān*, *ērmānīk*, *ērmānīh*).

C. Compound Consonants.

• Assimilation, which forms one of the main distinctions of the Pāli-Prākṛit from the Sanskrit, is not a phenomenon of great frequency in the Iranian dialects. Certain similarities, however, between the Pāli and the New Persian in this regard exist. Of these cases of like assimilation of groups of consonants in the two languages the following examples may be given:

rk becomes *kk*. Skt. *karkatāka* 'crab,' Pāli *kakkatāka*; Skt. *ṣaṅkarā* 'sugar,' Pāli *sakkharā* or *sakkarā*, New Pers. *šak(k)ar* (loan-word from the Indian).

dg becomes Pāli *gg*, New Pers. *γ*. Skt. *pudgala* 'individual,' Pāli *puggala* (cf. also *ḍgh* becoming *ggḥ*, e. g., Skt. *udghoṣa* 'proclamation,' Pāli *ugghosa*); Skt. *mudga* 'cormorant,' New Pers. *māy*.

jy becomes *j(j)*. Skt. *rājya* 'kingdom,' Pāli *rajjā* (cf. *jy* becoming also *jḥ*, e. g., Skt. *adhijya* 'with taut bow,' Pāli *adejjha*, but Skt. *jyā* 'bow-string,' Pāli *jyā* and *jīyā*); New Pers. *jāvīdan* 'to gnaw,' O. H. Germ. *kiuwan*, O. Bulg. *žvati* (Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.*, 49–50, 152, 229; Horn, *Grundriss der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 47).

dh becomes *jḥ*, New Pers. *ḡ*. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Pāli *majjha*; Skt. *dhyanā* 'meditation,' New Pers. *jān* 'soul.'

kt (New Pers. *xt*) becomes *tt*, New Pers. *t*. Skt. *śakti* 'power,' Pāli *satt(h)i*; Pahl. *pōxtanō* 'to cook,' New Pers. *puxtān* but dialectic *patēn*, *potēn* (Horn, 67).

st becomes *tth*, New Pers. *t*. Skt. *urastāda* 'beating the breast,' Pāli *urattthāli*; Lat. *sturnus* 'starling,' New Pers. *tar* (in New Pers. this assimilation is found only initially and the examples are doubtful, Horn, 86–87).

dv becomes *dd*, New Pers. *d*. Skt. *gādvala* 'grassy,' Pāli *saddala*; Skt. *dvīpa* 'island,' Pāli *dīpa* (cf. also *dhv* becoming *ddh*, e. g., Skt. *adhvan* 'road,' Pāli *addhā*); Av. *dvar* 'door,' Old Pers. *duvarā*, New Pers. *dar*.

pn becomes *pp*, cf. New Pers. *f* from *fn*. Skt. *svapna* 'sleep,' Pāli *soppa* beside *supina*; Av. *tafnu* 'heat' (cf. Skt. *tapas*), New Pers. *taf*.

dv becomes *bb*, New Pers. *b* (cf. above on *dv* becoming also *dd*). Skt. *dvādaśan* 'twelve,' Pāli *bārasa*; Av. *dvar* 'door,' New Pers. (dialectic) *bar* beside *dar*.

nm becomes *mm*, New Pers. *m*. Skt. *unmārga* 'underground water-course,' Pāli *ummagga*; Av. *saēna mārəya* 'eagle-bird,' Pahl. *sēmuru*, New Pers. *šimury* 'griffin' (older form *sēmury*).

rdr becomes *ll* (cf. New Pers. *l* from *rd*). Skt. *ārdra* 'wet,' Pāli *alla* beside *adda*; Av. *sarəda* 'year,' New Pers. *sāl*.

st becomes *ss*, New Pers. *s*. Skt. *basta* 'goat,' Pāli *vassa* beside *bhastā*; New Pers. (poetic) *Šārisān* nom. prop. beside *Šār-istān*.

rs (Skt. *rṣ*, Av. *rš*) becomes *ss*, New Pers. *š*. Skt. *varṣa* 'year,' Pāli *vassa*; Av. *barəša* 'mane,' New Pers. *buš* (Old Pers. **bṛša*, Hübschmann, *KZ.* xxxvi. 167).

A comparison of the modern Indian and Iranian dialects is not unprecedented. I need only allude to Trumpp's *Grammar of the Paštō . . . compared with the Irānian and North-Indian Idioms*. Trumpp was in error, as we know now, in supposing that the Afyān was a language "forming the first transition from the Indo-Ārian to the Irānian family, and therefore participating of the characteristics of both, but still with predominant Prākṛit features" (*Grammar*, xii. See on this passage of Trumpp's, Geiger, *Grundriss der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 205). But the real value of Trumpp's service cannot be impaired by this partial error, which was so natural at the time when he wrote. And once again, scarcely a year ago, that admirable scholar to whom we owe so much for his unexcelled *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie* and his *Neupersische Schriftsprache*—to mention only his works which immediately concern us now—has broached the problems here discussed. All too brief is Horn's note (*Grundriss der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 35, cf. 15–16, and Geiger, *ibid.* 208) claiming the scientific right to institute a comparison of phenomena presented in common by New Persian and by Prākṛit (of which Pāli is of course a form). This right is, I think, a valid one, and the subject merits a careful investigation, which should include within its scope the entire Indo-Iranian family of languages. Such a study, which it is my hope and intention to make, might be of service in the study of dialectic developments in general, and although confined to the Indo-Iranian dialects, it might by its implications be not altogether without bearing on the interests of the great body of the Indo-Germanic phonology.

A recent interpretation of the Letter of an Assyrian Princess.

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FEW cuneiform texts—though the assertion is rather a bold one—have been interpreted in so many different ways by different scholars as the brief letter of thirteen lines, K. 1619 b (III R. 16, No. 2; Harper's *Letters*, No. 308), addressed by the Assyrian princess, Šerû'a-eterat, to a lady of her father's court. Prof. Sayce, who first attempted to translate it more than twenty years ago in his *Babylonian Literature* (pp. 19, 78), considered it a spelling lesson "received by one of the granddaughters of Ašurbanipal, who is told not to write *umpici*, or to say *impuci*." Prof. Fritz Hommel, of Munich, in his *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens* (Berlin, 1885, p. 694, n. 4), gave a translation of the text, which he regarded as a report from the servant (*abad?*) of the king's daughter to the lady Aššur-šarrat, and explained that in this letter the daughter of King Ašur-etil-ilâni-ukînni orders the expulsion of her older relative from the harem. Prof. C. P. Tiele, of Leyden, in his *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte* (1880, pp. 406, 413), correctly described the letter as referring to a dispute about precedence ("Rangstreit") between two ladies of the palace, but offered no translation. In 1888 the late distinguished French scholar, Arthur Amiaud, made this text the subject of a paper in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record* (ii. 197 ff.). According to his interpretation, the lady to whom the letter is addressed was the wife of a prince Ašurbanipal, not identical with the famous Sardanapallus, but the son of a King Esarhaddon II., whose existence had been previously asserted by Sayce and Schrader. The theory of the existence of an Esarhaddon II. has, however, long since been abandoned by every Assyriologist, and with it Amiaud's explanation falls to the ground.

In May 1896 I discussed this text in a paper entitled, "The Letter of an Assyrian Princess," which was read before the Johns Hopkins University Philological Association, and was published, the following month, in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (June, 1896, vol. xv.—No. 126, pp. 91 ff.). At

the same time (June 1896), the well known French Assyriologist, Father V. Scheil, published in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (xi. 47 ff.) the text of a tablet from his private collection, proving that Sin-šar-iškun, the last king of Assyria, was the son of Sardanapallus, and added in a foot note (p. 49) a translation of the letter of the princess. While Father Scheil's translation differs from my own in some particulars, we arrived at the same conclusion as regards the writer of the letter. In fact, up to this time it had never occurred to anyone to doubt that the writer of the letter was the daughter of king Ašur-etil-ilâni, the son of Sardanapallus, and the last king but one of Assyria.

During the past year, however, Dr. Hugo Winckler of Berlin, the accomplished editor and translator of the Amarna Letters, published, in his *Altorientalische Forschungen* (1898, 2d Ser. i. 53-59), a paper entitled "Sareser und Esarhaddon," in which our text is interpreted from an entirely different point of view. His translation is as follows: "Utterance of the daughter of the king to (the lady) Aššur-šarrat:—Unless you write your letter and confess your fault (?), will not people say, 'Is this (really) the sister of Šerû'a-eṭerat, the great daughter of the harem of Ašur-etil-ilâni-ukînni, the great king, the mighty king, king of Assyria?' And you are the daughter of the young wife, the mistress of the household of Ašurbanipal, the great son of the harem of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria."

According to Dr. Winckler's explanation, the writer of the letter was a princess of Assyria in regard to whose birth some doubt or dispute had arisen, and the lady Aššur-šarrat, presumably a nurse, is required to acknowledge her fault and testify that the princess is not the daughter of Ašurbanipal, but the sister of the "great daughter" of king Ašur-etil-ilâni-ukînni. Against the usual assumption of the identity of this king with the last monarch but one of Assyria, it is objected that no doubt could possibly occur as to whether the writer of the letter—evidently a woman grown—was the daughter of Ašurbanipal, born while he was crown prince (so he is styled in the letter), or of his son and successor, at a time when the latter actually sat upon the throne. It is also considered remarkable that while the successor of Ašurbanipal styles himself, in his own official inscriptions, merely Ašur-etil-ilâni, the fuller form of the name should occur in a private letter. If these premises be granted, the princess must seek another father. In Dr. Winckler's opinion, the solution of

the difficulty is suggested by the so-called Will of Sennacherib (III R. 16, No. 3), wherein mention is made of "my son Esarhaddon, who was afterwards named Ašur-etillu-mukin-aplu." It is, of course, admitted that Esarhaddon resumed his original name when he ascended the throne of Assyria, but Dr. Winckler, by an ingenious restoration in the fragmentary text S. 1079, would make it appear that the king, before his accession and while acting as governor of Babylon, actually bore the name Ašur-etillu-mukin-aplu. On these grounds the eminent Berlin Assyriologist would identify King Ašur-etil-ilāni-ukīnni with Esarhaddon, and thinks that the lady was born before her father's accession, during which period circumstances might be conceived to arise tending to cast a doubt upon her birth. The fact that Esarhaddon is mentioned under his usual name in the last line of the letter is explained upon the theory that the first mention of the king (ll. 9-10) is of the nature of a formal official statement, wherein he is called by the name he bore at the time of his daughter's birth, while in the second case he is called by the name he bore at the time the letter was written.

Dr. Winckler's explanation of this difficult text is most ingenious, and anything that comes from the pen of so able an Assyriologist is entitled to a respectful hearing; but in the present case his arguments are not altogether convincing. It is difficult to see how the name Ašur-etillu-mukin-aplu affords a better identification for Ašur-etil-ilāni-ukīnni, than Ašur-etil-ilāni; the latter in fact, as the simpler, seems preferable. It is perfectly conceivable that a long name might, for practical reasons, be abbreviated even in official documents, while the use of the longer and more sonorous form in the present letter is due to a very obvious purpose. Dr. Winckler himself remarks (p. 57) that this part of the letter has the ring of a formal statement, and he also calls attention (p. 55) to the frequent abbreviation of names in legal documents. It is quite within the bounds of possibility that the king, upon his accession to the throne, fixed upon the shorter form as his official designation. A glance over the list of Assyrian kings shows not a single name composed of more than three words; the majority contain only two. In fact, the employment of long names in official designations would seem to be contrary to Assyrian usage. But quite apart from the historical side of the question, Dr. Winckler's translation is open to objections from a grammatical standpoint—the same objections, for the most part, that I advanced against other translations in my former paper.

atā (l. 3) does not mean 'if'; it is properly the imperative of the verb *atā* 'to see,' and is of common occurrence in the letters as an interjection.—The reading *tašāṭirī* (l. 3) is impossible, since the preterite of *šatāru* 'to write' is not *išṭir*, but *išṭur*, and therefore a present *išāṭir* would be an anomaly. We must certainly read here, with Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 490^b, *tasāḍirī* from *sadāru* 'to arrange'. The words *duppikī lā tasāḍirī* mean literally, "thou dost not (properly) arrange thy tablet," i. e. "thou dost not draw up thy letter in proper form."—That *im-bu* (l. 4) stands for *imbā* is reasonably certain, but the explanation of it as a synonym of *awātu* is more than doubtful. I believe it to be a derivative of the stem *nabā*, with the meaning 'name, title.'—In line 11, *kallāt* cannot be taken as an apposition to *belit bīti*, since two coördinated constructs can never govern a single genitive. *mārat kallāt belit bīti ša Ašurbanipal* can only be construed as a single construct chain, the length of which necessitates the use of *ša*, the sign of the genitive, before the nomen rectum. The whole phrase means, therefore, "the daughter of the daughter-in-law of Ašurbanipal's wife." This is certainly a rather remarkable expression, but the lady doubtless had her reasons for laying stress upon it. Father Scheil falls into the same error here; for lines 1–10 he practically reproduces Amiaud's version, which I discussed in my former paper.

I see no reason to depart, in any essential particular, from the rendering I proposed three years ago. I still believe that the text should be transliterated and translated as follows :

¹ *Abīt mārat šarri ana* ² *sal. al. Aššur-šarrat!*

³ *Atā duppikī lā tasāḍirī,* ⁴ *imbāki lā taqābī.*

⁵ *Ulā iqābī'a* ⁶ *mā:* 'Annūtā awātša' *ša*

sal. Šerā'a-eṭerat, ⁸ *mārtu rabītu ša bīt-riḍāti*

⁹ *ša Ašur-etil-ilāni-ukinni,* ¹⁰ *šarru rabū, šarru dannu, šar kiššati, šar māt Aššur?*

¹¹ *U attī mārat kallāt belit bīti ša Asur-ban-apal,*

¹² *mār-šarri rabū ša bīt-riḍāti,* ¹³ *ša Ašur-axa-iddina, šar māt Aššur.*

¹ See Delitzsch, *Assyr. Grammatik*, § 65, No. 80, and note especially *imbābu* 'flute,' in which we have the same partial assimilation of the nasal.

TRANSLATION.

Message of the King's daughter to Aššur-šarrat !
 Thou dost not (properly) address thy letter (sent to me),
 nor use the title (befitting thy station). (People)
 might say, "Is this the sister of Šerû'a-eterat,
 the eldest daughter of the harem of
 Ašur-etil-ilâni-ukînni, the great king, the
 mighty king, king of hosts, king of Assyria?"
 But thou art (simply) the daughter of
 of the daughter-in-law of the wife of Ašurbanapal,
 eldest son of the harem of Esarladdon, King of Assyria.

The lady Aššur-šarrat would seem to have written to the princess Šerû'a-eterat a letter in which she addressed her as 'sister,' a familiarity which the latter rebukes as an impertinence, and refers the indiscreet lady to her proper place. The peculiar phrase, "daughter of the daughter-in-law of Ašurbanapal's wife," doubtless contains some keen thrust, the point of which escapes us owing to our ignorance of the circumstances to which it refers, though we may be sure that Aššur-šarrat understood it well enough. A number of explanations suggest themselves, all equally conjectural; but so much is clear, that the words are intended to define Aššur-šarrat's position, and to emphasize the fact that she is not entitled to address as 'sister' the eldest daughter of King Ašur-etil-ilâni-ukînni. Under these circumstances, the employment of the longer form of the king's name, instead of his shorter official designation, Ašur-etil-ilâni, becomes quite intelligible. The princess wishes to enhance her own dignity, and selects the longer name as being more impressive. It is certainly rather striking that Ašurbanipal is called, not king of Assyria, but *mâr šarri rabâ ša bît ridûti*. This may be due to the fact that Aššur-šarrat's relationship with King Sardanapallus is to be traced back to the time preceding his accession to the throne. She may, for example, have been descended from a wife who was divorced before he became king. It was, moreover, no part of the princess' intention to magnify the position or pedigree of her correspondent. On the other hand, it should be noted that Ašurbanapal, in his longest and most elaborate inscription, deliberately selects this very title in preference to the usual official title of Assyrian kings.

In the same paper, Dr. Winckler cites the fragment of a letter (82-5-22, 106) addressed by one Narâm-Sin to LUGAL KAR *mât Aššur* (*šar kiššat, šar mâtāti belī'ia*), which he is inclined to take as a proper name and to read *Šar-eṭir mât Aššur*. This king he would identify with the biblical Shareser, the murderer of his father Sennacherib and rival of his brother Esarhaddon. The fact that he is styled in the fragment *šar kiššati* is taken as a confirmation of this view, since this title pertained specially to the northwestern part of Assyria, where Shareser is believed to have held out longest after his expulsion from Nineveh. It is also pointed out as a remarkable coincidence that this title, *šar kiššati*, is omitted from the titles of Ašur-etil-ilâni-ukinni in the letter of the princess; and Dr. Winckler would therefore place the latter's birth in 681 B. C., during the time of her father's conflict with his brother. There are a number of objections to this ingenious hypothesis, but it is only necessary to mention two of them. In the first place, it is very unusual to find letters addressed to kings by name, and, as the determinative of a proper name is wanting, it is at least equally possible that the supposed name *Šar-eṭir-mât Aššur* may be merely a title,—*Šarru eṭir mât Aššur*, "the king, protector of Assyria," etc. In the second place, the title *Šar kiššati* is *not* wanting in the letter of the princess, but stands very distinctly both in III R. 16 and in Harper's *Letters*, No. 308. I can hardly believe that Dr. Winckler's reading is due to a special collation of the text made by him, since in that case he would surely have stated the fact.

Two new Assyrian words.—By DR. CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON,
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īāmūtu.

THE word *īāmūtu*, which occurs in a number of passages in the letters, has never been explained. Samuel Alden Smith, in his *Keilschrifttexte Ašurbanipal's* (Part iii. p. 72), suggests that it may be identical with the pronoun *ammūte* 'those'. The Rev. C. H. W. Johns, in his paper on the "Letters of Sennacherib" (PSBA. xvii. 227, note on l. 27), takes it, though rather doubtfully, for the preterite of the verb *mātu* 'to die.' In Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch* and in Meissner's *Supplement* I fail to find any reference to the word. It seems to me, however, that its meaning can be quite clearly established from the context of the passages in which it occurs.

īāmūtu means 'each, each one,' and may be explained as a compound of the pronoun *īā'u* (a by-form of *ā'u*, cf. e. g. *īāumma*, Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 47^b) and the noun *mutu* 'man'; i. e. literally, 'which(ever) man.' Cases in which the *t* is doubled are doubtless due to an attempt to indicate the accent. The quantity of the vowel *ā* is shown by the examples given below.

For the use of the word may be cited the following passages from Harper's *Letters*: The first passage is from a letter (Harper, No. 314) in which Šarru-emurāni gives to the king the news of Southern Babylonia. Puqud and Erech are mentioned, but the context is obscure through the mutilation of the text. The letter concludes (rev. ll. 7-10): *aqtebāšunūni īa-mu-tu bītsu līrgibi, līrubu ina bītišu, lašibi*, "I said to them, Let each man put up his house, and go and live in it." Of course, *līrgibi* stands here for *līrgip* from *rašāpu* (Delitzsch, *Heb.* p. 627^a). In the examples given below this verb means 'to cultivate', like the German 'bauen.'

K 181 (= Harper, No. 197) is a letter from Sennacherib, then filling a high office on the northern frontier of Assyria, to his father Sargon, about affairs in Armenia. In lines 21 ff. he quotes from a letter of Ašur-reḡū'a, who, after stating that the King of Urartu (the biblical Ararat) has sustained a severe reverse, remarks (ll. 27-29): *umā mātsu nixdt; rabātišu, īa-mu-tu ina libbi mātišu*

ittalak, "We are now watching his land; his great men have gone, each to his own district."

In the letter K 686 (= Harper, No. 173) Tāb-Ašur writes to the king that a messenger has come to him, who, being questioned as to the news, replied (ll. 10-13): *Šulnu ana ā birāte; mā māt Kilhu gabbu, ia-mu-tu dullušu epaš*, "The fortresses are all right; all the (people of) Kilhu are doing, each man his duty."

K 617 (= Harper, No. 208) is a letter to the king from Nabūhamatū'a, who quotes at some length from a communication he has just received from the governor of Media (*māt Madda*). The latter seems to have had some difficulty with a certain mār-Bel-iddina, who had evidently been circulating alarming reports among the people. The governor states that he found it necessary to issue a manifesto in order to reassure the people,—“to put heart into them,” as he expresses it,—and he adds (ll. 15 ff.) the substance of his address: "This mār-Bel-iddina is a rascal; he is a liar (*pāriḡu*). [Let no one?] listen (to him), *attunu ia-a-mut-tu lirḡip ina libbi eqlišu: dullakunu epšā: libbakuna lā ṭābkunu*, ["As for] you, let each man cultivate his farm. Do your work. May your hearts be of good cheer!" (rev. ll. 2-5). Further on (rev. ll. 11-13), he remarks: *alīk, alā! ia-a-mut-tu ana muaxi eqlī lirḡip lāšīb*, "Go ahead! Let each man fall to and cultivate a farm (and) live (on it)." In line 3 *lirḡip* is evidently to be restored from line 13, *ana muaxi eqlī lirḡip* (ll. 12-13) is constructio pregnans.

K 614 (= Harper, No. 175) refers to certain Sidonian officials who have not been to Kelach with the prince nor taken their tour of duty in Nineveh, but they are *ia-mu-tu ina bīt ubrāšu*, "each in his place of sojourn." *ubrā* is to be connected with *ubāru* 'resident alien' (cf. Delitzsch, *Heb.* p. 10^a), which has about the same meaning as Heb. *גֵּר*.

In K 574 (= Harper, No. 123) the text is mutilated, but in ll. 16-17 of the obverse we read: *ia-mu-ut-tu^m dullu[šu ip]paš*, "each one is performing his duty." In all these cases the meaning of *iamutu* would seem to be quite clear.

pāgu.

This verb is given in Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch* (p. 516^a) without translation, the only passage cited being Strassmaier's restoration of II R 65, col. i, l. 27: *karassu urigallešu i-pu-ga(?)*-šu. Meissner, in his *Supplement* (p. 75^a), cites the passage

K 619 (= Harper, No. 174), l. 14, but offers no explanation. The word occurs twice in Harper's *Letters*, and in both cases, as well as in the passage from II R cited by Delitzsch, the meaning 'to take away' suits the context exactly.

K 619 (Harper, No. 174) is a letter from Marduk-šarra-uṣur to the king, in which he reports the words of Ašpabari (cf. obv. 7, rev. 3), or, as he is called in the historical inscriptions, Išpabara,¹ King of Ellip, addressed to two persons named Kibabiše and Dasukku, who seem to have laid claim to territory bordering on his domain. Ašpabari treats them with little ceremony. "The king," he says (ll. 9 ff.), "has given Ellip to me and Sungibut to Marduk-šarra-uṣur. It is all settled (*ikkana*); your cities are taken away (*alānikunu pi-e-gu*, l. 14). If you want to make war, make it; or else let it alone. I for my part will have nothing to do with it." I take *ikkana* as Niphal of *kanā* 'to arrange, put in order'; *pegu* is, of course, permansive, a form like *metu* from *mātu* 'to die.'

In the second passage (Harper, No. 421) a certain Marduk-šum-uṣur appeals to the king for redress against the governor of Barkhalza. The petitioner asserts that he had been granted some land by the king's father, and had enjoyed undisputed possession of it for fifteen years. Now, however, comes the governor, and, without any shadow of right, takes his property away from him. Although a poor man, he has always performed his duty to king and state. "Now," he concludes (rev. ll. 5-9), "I am deprived of my land. I appeal to the king. Let the king, my lord, see me righted, that I may not die of starvation"—*umā eglu pi-ga-ku. Šarru attaxar. Šarru, belī, dīnī līpuš, ina būbātī lā lā amū'at*. Here again we have the permansive. In the light of these passages, it would seem that the words *karassu urigallešu ipūgašu*, cited by Delitzsch in his *Handwörterbuch*, may be rendered, "He captured from him his camp and his standards." For the etymology we may perhaps compare Arabic فجا, which in the VIII form means 'to fall upon unexpectedly, to seize and carry off'.

¹ See my thesis, *The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians*, Part i. p. 164 [= JAOS. xviii. 164].



The Letters of Simeon the Stylite.—By CHARLES C. TORREY,
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SAINT SIMEON of the Pillar has always been one of the extremely interesting figures in the history of the Oriental church, as he is certainly one of the most characteristic. We are fortunate, too, in possessing considerable detailed information as to his life and work, derived for the most part from contemporary sources. This information is not always, nor even generally, trustworthy, to be sure; but the portion which we can use with confidence is sufficient to give us a satisfactory idea of the course of his life, while even the portion which is least reliable as biography has its value for the church historian. As is well known, our chief sources for Simeon's biography are, *first*, the old Syriac *Life*, written in the year 473 A.D.¹ by Simeon, son of Apollonius, and Bar Ḥaṭṭār, son of ʿŪdān,² and published by S. E. Assemani in his *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum*, ii. 268 ff., and by Bedjan in his *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, iv. 507 ff.; and, *second*, the account of Simeon given by his contemporary, Theodoret of Cyrrihus (died 457), in his *Religious History*. The main facts of his life are these:³ He was born in Ṣiṣ, a small town in the neighborhood of Nicopolis, in northern Syria, probably between the years 385 and 390. When about sixteen years of age, he entered a monastery near Antioch. Nine or ten years later, he repaired to Telneššē,⁴ some fifty miles northeast of Antioch, where he remained, the most renowned ascetic in the East, until his death in the year 459. The last thirty-seven years of his life were spent on the top of pillars of increasing height; the one occupied

¹ See Appendix, page 275.

² Wright (*Syriac Literature*, p. 56, note 3) thought this might be a mistake for Uran (Uranus).

³ See the excellent sketch in Nöldeke's *Orientalische Skizzen*, 1892, pp. 224-239.

⁴ So generally written. The form  also occurs; and the old manuscript Brit. Mus. Add. 14484, edited by Bedjan, has everywhere Telnešīl. In the letter to Jacob of Kaphra R'ḥimā (below, p. 262), also from an old and excellent manuscript, the form is .

בְּחֶלְבֵּל הַחֶלֶב * וְעַתָּה יִשְׁמַח הָאֱלֹהִים בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׁמַח בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׁמַח בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל

[illegible]

“Because⁴ in the pride of your heart you have forgotten the Lord your God, who gave you the crown of majesty and the royal throne, and have become a friend and comrade and abettor of the unbelieving Jews; know that of a sudden the righteous judgment of God will overtake you and all those who are of one mind with you in this matter. Then you will lift up your hands to heaven, and say in your distress, Of a truth because I dealt falsely with the Lord God this punishment has come upon me.”

The story of this letter,⁶ according to the *Life*, was the following. The emperor's prefect, Asclepiodotus⁷ by name, issued an order commanding the Christians in this region to restore to the Jews all the synagogues which had been taken from them by violence. This order produced great consternation among the Christians, while the Jews were in high feather. A number of bishops came to Simeon and told him what was being done; whereupon he wrote this letter. The emperor, upon receiving it, revoked the obnoxious edict, dismissed Asclepiodotus from his office, and sent a humble reply to Simeon.

Nöldeke⁷ pronounces this version of the matter scarcely credible, and with good reason. Still, there is, perhaps, no sufficient ground for denying the genuineness of the letter. Theodoret, an independent witness, writing some time before Simeon's death, plainly refers to this rebuke of the Emperor Theodosius in his *Religious History*, near the end of his biography of the Stylite. Speaking of Simeon's boldness and zeal for the church, he says (*Opera*, ed. Noesselt, vol. iii. p. 1282): *νῦν μὲν ἐλληνικῇ δυσσεβείᾳ μαχόμενος, νῦν δὲ τὴν Ἰουδαίων καταλίων θρασύτητα, ἄλλοτε δὲ τῶν αἵρετικῶν συμμορίας σκεδανύς· καὶ ποτὲ μὲν βασιλεῖ περὶ τούτων ἐπιστέλ-*

¹ ܡܬܢ ܡܢܚܢܢ. ² Bed. has the uncontracted forms. ³ ܡܢܚܢܢ.

⁴ According to our narrative, Simeon, in his righteous indignation, dispensed with the customary introductory formula: "To Theodosius, the Emperor," etc.

⁵ It is also told by the church historian Evagrius (*Eccl. Hist.*, i. 13), who made use of the *Life*.

⁶ Called in the *Life* Asclepiades.

⁷ *L. c.*, p. 232.

λων, ποτὲ δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰς τὸν Θεοῦ ζῆλον ἐγείρων, κτλ.; where the connection of the clause "sending letters to the emperor about these things" with the preceding, "breaking down the presumption of the Jews," is beyond question, in view of the other narrative.¹ We can hardly doubt, therefore, that some such written communication was sent to Theodosius by the Stylite. Of the letter which we have, this at least may be said, that it is what we should expect a man like Simeon to write 'under such circumstances. As for the specific occasion, it is true, as Nöldeke points out, that the story told here of the order to restore the synagogues seems to be discredited by the witness of a document which has come down to us from that very controversy; namely, an edict of Theodosius addressed to Asclepiodotus, dated in the year 423, commanding that no more synagogues be seized or destroyed, and *that restitution be made for those of them which have already been consecrated to Christian use*;² the implication being that such could no longer be given back to their former owners. But there is abundant evidence that the emperor and his officers had no small difficulty with this matter of the synagogues, and that it had been the subject of lively dispute. See the *Codex Theodosianus*, xvi. 8, 9. 12. 20. 21; and notice that in this same year 423, between February and June, three successive edicts relating to the matter were promulgated (*ibid.*, 25. 26. 27). It is not unlikely that the monks and the local civil authorities were on opposite sides here (as, for example, Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iv. p. 455, takes for granted); and it may be that what called out Simeon's letter was some proceeding on the part of Syrian officials based on the former less definite laws. In that case, the emperor's order to Asclepiodotus, referred to above, might well have been hailed by the monks as a victory for their party. Or, again, it is quite possible that when synagogues were seized *after* the promulgation of this edict of 423, and in violation of it, the attempt was made to punish the offenders by making them restore the buildings and pay damages, as narrated in our history. Of course the part played by Simeon in this matter was far less important than the popular report made it. The emperor's new edict was called forth by the same disturbances which stirred up the monk to write his letter; and it is not at

¹ So Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, i. 245.

² *Codex Theodosianus*, xvi. 8, 25 (ed. Haenel, 1837, col. 1604).

all likely that the prefect Asclepiodotus was dismissed in the way narrated by Simeon's biographers.

It is intrinsically probable that at this time and in this part of the world a letter to the emperor dictated¹ by such a well known saint as Simeon already was (even if we date the letter as early as 422 or 423) would have been copied and preserved long enough to have been used by biographers who wrote only a short time after his death. There is nothing, therefore, to decide against the supposition that we have before us the letter actually sent in Simeon's name to Theodosius; though the character of the source in which it stands, and our knowledge of the freedom with which even the best of early historians invented such documents to adorn their narrative, make skepticism justifiable.

The remaining letters ascribed to the Stylite are all concerned with the theological controversies of the fifth century.

The best known among these is the letter approving the council of Chalcedon, quoted in part by Evagrius (*Eccl. Hist.*, ii. 10), and afterward cited by other historians. The circumstances under which it was written are narrated as follows by Evagrius. The emperor Leo (I.) Thrac (reigned 457-474) sent out, soon after his accession to the throne, a circular letter² to the bishops of the empire and to a few of the most celebrated monks, requesting their judgment upon the council of Chalcedon. Simeon Stylites, who was the most noted of the monks addressed,³ wrote to the emperor in reply, approving the council; and at the same time sent a letter of similar tenor to Basil, bishop of Antioch, who, it seems, had also written to ask for his judgment, perhaps with the added purpose of influencing him to send a favorable reply to the emperor. This letter to Basil is the one quoted by Evagrius, who hints that he had also at his disposal the letter of Simeon to

¹ As Nöldeke observes (*ibid.*, p. 233), it may be doubted whether Simeon could read and write.

² See Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*³, ii. 377, note 1; and the account given by Zacharias Rhetor (Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, iii. 138 f.).

³ The others mentioned by name are Baradatus and one Jacob. Of the latter Evagrius merely says that he was a Syrian monk (like the other two); the *Codex Encyclius* calls him "Jacob, a monk of Nisibis" (so also Nicephorus Callistus, *Eccl. Hist.*, xv. 19); while Theophanes Confessor (ed. Classen, i. 173) calls him "Jacob Thaumaturgus." The monk intended is evidently the one lauded by Theodoret in his *Religious History*, chap. 21.

Leo, and would have included it in his history if it had not been too long. The letter ran thus (in the translation of the *Bohn Library*):

"To my lord, the most religious and holy servant of God, the archbishop Basil, the sinful and humble Simeon wishes health in the Lord. Well, may we now say, my lord, Blessed be God, who has not rejected our prayer, nor withdrawn his mercy from us sinners. For, on the receipt of the letters of your worthiness, I admired the zeal and piety of our sovereign, beloved of God, which he manifested and still manifests towards the holy fathers and their unshaken faith. And this gift is not from ourselves, as says the holy apostle, but from God, who through your prayers bestowed on him this readiness of mind." . . . "On this account I also, though mean and worthless, the refuse of the monks, have conveyed to his majesty my judgment respecting the creed of the 630 holy fathers assembled at Chalcedon, firmly resolving to abide by the faith there revealed by the Holy Spirit; for if, in the midst of two or three who are gathered together in his name, the Saviour is present, how could it be otherwise than that the Holy Spirit should be throughout in the midst of so many and so distinguished holy fathers?" . . . "Wherefore be stout and courageous in the cause of true piety, as was also Joshua the son of Nun, the servant of the Lord, in behalf of the Children of Israel. I beg you to salute from me all the reverend clergy who are under your holiness, and the blessed and most faithful laity."

The evidence for the genuineness of this letter is in general much like that appealed to in the case of the preceding, but is considerably stronger. Evagrius has an excellent reputation for trustworthiness as a historian, and wrote in Antioch, where a letter dictated by this saint at the pinnacle of his fame (not more than two years before his death) would certainly have been preserved. There seems to be no reason to doubt that Leo wrote to Simeon on this occasion, as attested by Evagrius, the *Codex Encyclius*,¹ and many subsequent historians, and denied by none. And the testimony is uniform that all of those addressed by the emperor returned answers favorable to the council of Chalcedon, excepting only Timotheus of Alexandria and Amphilochius of Side. Note especially the testimony of the Monophysite historian Zacharias of Mytilene (Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*,

¹ In Harduin, *Acta Conciliorum*, vol. ii. (1714), p. 690 ff.

vol. iii. p. 142). The letter to Basil of Antioch has, therefore, strong indirect support; and it is yet more deserving of confidence because of its contents. It is a very uninteresting production, made up largely of commonplace phrases, which are drawn out at considerable length. The only plausible reason for inventing such a letter would have been the purpose to show that Simeon approved the council of Chalcedon; but it is sufficiently obvious that this colorless, almost indifferent utterance could never have been forged as a Chalcedonian party document.

There is another letter, said to have been written by Simeon at about this time, in which his adherence to the 'emperor's party' is attested. This is the letter from Simeon to Eudocia, the widow of Theodosius II., quoted by Cyril of Scythopolis (middle of the sixth century), in his *Vita Euthymii* (Cotelerius, *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, tom. ii. p. 271), and by Nicephorus Callistus, *Ecl. Hist.*, xv. 13. The latter tells the story as follows. The empress Pulcheria, having become reconciled to her beautiful sister-in-law (now removed to a safe distance), wished to see her become orthodox, and employed every possible influence to this end. Eudocia, half persuaded by the letters and entreaties she received, finally wrote to Simeon Stylites, asking his guidance and promising to follow it. The letter was sent by the chorepiscopus Anastasius. Simeon replied:

"Know, my child, that the devil, seeing the wealth of your virtues, sought to sift you as wheat; moreover, that corrupter Theodosius, having become the receptacle and instrument of the evil one,¹ both darkened and disturbed your God-beloved soul. But be of good courage, for your faith has not left you. I wonder, however, exceedingly at this, that having the fountain close at hand you do not recognize it, but hasten to draw the water from afar. You have near by the inspired Euthymius; follow his counsels and admonitions, and it will be well with you."²

Eudocia followed this advice, and was directed by Euthymius to hold to the doctrine of the four councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus (431), and Chalcedon.

Regarding this letter there is little to be said. It may well be genuine, though there is, of course, room for doubt. Even if it

¹ This clause seems to be a later improvement. It is not found in the older form of the letter.

² The *Vita Euthymii*, in which the story is told in much greater detail, gives the letter in almost the same words.

is a forgery for the glory of Euthymius, as is possible, it shows, at least, what views the Stylite was commonly believed to hold.¹

But the question as to Simeon's theological position during the last years of his life—that is, at the time when the above-mentioned letters to Leo, Basil, and Eudocia, are supposed to have been written—is raised anew by the three hitherto unpublished letters of which mention has already been made. All three are decidedly controversial, and in them the Stylite speaks as a bitter opponent of the Chalcedonense.

The letters are found in two ancient Syriac manuscripts of the British Museum. One of these, Add. 12154 (no. DCCCLX. in Wright's *Catalogue*), dated by Wright at the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century, is a manuscript of miscellaneous contents, of which the first section is a collection of Monophysite party documents (fol. 1–18). The thirty-third section contains the three letters (*Catalogue*, vol. ii., p. 986), extending from fol. 199*b* to fol. 201*a*. The first of them is addressed to the Emperor Leo (I.); the second, to the abbot Jacob of Kaphrā R^ehīmā; the third, to John, bishop of Antioch (died 442).

The second manuscript, Add. 12155 (no. DCCCLVII. in the *Catalogue*), is a large and beautifully written codex of the 8th century. It is a Monophysite compilation; and contains as its twenty-ninth section (fol. 229*a*; *Catalogue*, vol. ii. p. 951) the first of the three letters just mentioned, namely the one addressed to the Emperor Leo. There is prefixed to it a superscription occupying several lines; otherwise, the text corresponds closely to that of the other manuscript.

I give here the text of Add. 12154 (A), adding in the case of the letter to Leo the variant readings of Add. 12155 (B).

ܐܠܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ (fol. 199*b*, near top)

ܐܠܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ

ܐܠܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܝܢ

¹ It was all the more natural that Simeon should show this courtesy to the Palestinian hermit, because Domnus II. of Antioch, who was a friend of Simeon's (see below), had formerly been one of Euthymius' pupils.

² This superscription, which is written in red ink, is, of course, wanting in B.

Second Letter: To Mar Jacob of Kaphrā R^ehīmā.¹

To our Spiritual Brother in Christ; adorned with graces illustrious and divine; zealous for the orthodox faith of the fathers, which we have learned from prophets, apostles, and saints; the Archimandrite, Mar Jacob of Kaphrā R^ehīmā; from the mean and weak sinner, Simeon, who stands upon the pillar near the village Telnešī; great and exceeding peace in the Lord.

First of all, I beseech you to offer prayers to God for me, that He may give me strength and patience, on this stone upon which I stand; and I also make supplication to God for my sins.

As for the rest:² Since your Reverence has sent to me by Mar Thomas, your pupil, requesting that the anathema which I once uttered upon the council of Chalcedon be put in writing by me and sent to your Reverence; to be used for the consolation and confirmation of the orthodox everywhere, and for the stopping of the mouth of perverse heretics: This I say to you, my Beloved; that I have hope and confidence in God, whom I serve and worship; and I confess Him and believe in Him, whose truth you and I will keep unto the end. I have not approved, and will not approve, that council of perverse heretics which was convened at Chalcedon; nor the evil which was perpetrated by it, and the sinful and wicked deed which they did to the holy martyr Dioscurus.³ But I have cursed, and will curse, that wicked council which was convened at Chalcedon; and every one who has approved or shall approve it, or who has been, or shall be, like minded with those who composed it; unless he has repented or shall repent. Moreover, a writing, signed by these calumniators,⁴ bears witness for me that I did not approve them, nor did I write anything to that effect; nor can they prove that I ever gave them countenance in any way; nor will any one assert that I did, unless he wishes to destroy his soul by lying and slander. For verily I, the weak and sinful, am a partner with all

¹ I do not know that this place has been identified.

² This formula ܡܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ corresponds exactly to the Arabic

أما بعد and the Biblical Aramaic ܐܝܡܢܐ (only in Ezra). See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1897, p. 166 ff. In the "Letter of Alexander of Hierapolis and Andreas of Samosata" (below, p. 271), the expression ܡܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ is used in precisely the same way, introducing the letter proper after the superscription.

³ Died 454, three years after his deposition at Chalcedon.

⁴ For the explanation of these words, see below, page 272.

those holy and saintly fathers, three hundred and eighteen in number, who assembled at Nicaea; and with the hundred and fifty who met at Constantinople; and with the two hundred and twenty who assembled together with the holy Cyril at Ephesus, and cursed and cast out the wicked Nestorius. Moreover, I have been and am a partner with the holy martyr Mar Dioscurus, Patriarch of the metropolis Alexandria; him who was unjustly and wickedly driven into exile, as though he were an evil doer, by perverse heretics, enemies of the truth; those who are like minded with the wicked Nestorius, and with Leo of Rome, and with the unrighteous Emperor Marcian.

As I have already said, the truth which I have learned from apostles and from holy fathers and saints, in this I abide unto the very end of my life; nor will I basely deny that work of grace which was wrought through the coming of God our Saviour in human nature; who came down and was incarnated of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, and was born of her in her virginity, and endured all that came upon him in order that he might redeem the life of all mankind.

If then, my Lord, there is any one who is of doubting mind, let him be confirmed in the faith of the holy fathers, and in these things which we have written. And do you be in good health, and rejoicing in spirit and body. Pray for me that I may be one of God's elect.

Third Letter, also written by Simeon himself: To John of Antioch, concerning Nestorius.

To the holy and God-loving Mar John, Bishop of Antioch, from Simeon the feeble in the Lord, greeting.

Having heard, my Lord, from faithful men that you have been summoned by the most pious emperor to attend the holy council, for which, on account of Nestorius and his blasphemies, he is striving to assemble the holy bishops at Ephesus; and that your Holiness, as is reported, does not wish to join their assembly: I in my insignificance urge your Holiness, not to delay to go up to the holy council of Ephesus, and to become an ally of our holy father Cyril, and a participant in the holy synod which is with him, in cursing the misguided Nestorius—if so be that he come not to repentance.

If this shall not be done by you, I know well that there will be no peace in the churches of the East; but that, on the contrary,

great disturbances will arise. Nay, surely it is for you to do this, which will please God, rejoice the king, and establish peace in the churches of the East.

As was remarked above, the manuscript Add. 12155, which contains only the letter to the Emperor Leo, prefixes to it a superscription several lines in length. This superscription, which is rubricated, reads as follows : ¹

ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܝܘܠܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܨܝܪܝܐ ܡܨܝܪܝܐ ܡܨܝܪܝܐ ܡܨܝܪܝܐ ܡܨܝܪܝܐ
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ܡܨܝܪܝܐ ܡܨܝܪܝܐ ܡܨܝܪܝܐ ܡܨܝܪܝܐ ܡܨܝܪܝܐ ܡܨܝܪܝܐ ܡܨܝܪܝܐ ܡܨܝܪܝܐ

"The Letter which Mar Simeon the Stylite wrote to the Emperor Leo, who reigned after Marcian; which was called forth by the conduct of Theodoret of Cyrrihus, the heretic; who approached the blessed Mar Simeon, hoping to lead him astray with the heresy of the Diophysites, and sowed words of blasphemy in the ears of the blessed Mar Simeon. Wherefore he clothed himself with zeal for the faith, and wrote this letter to the Emperor Leo, in distress and anguish of spirit."

In this superscription, the fact appears once more which has been sufficiently evident throughout these Syriac documents; namely, that whether Simeon Stylites wrote the three letters or not, they are the work of a vehement partisan, and were circulated to serve as Monophysite party weapons. The general superscription found in manuscript A, for example ("Letters of Simeon, which testify that he did not accept the council of Chalcedon"), plainly implies the existence of a more or less widespread belief (held and proclaimed by "impudent and wicked her-

¹ The left hand margin of this page (fol. 229a) of the manuscript is badly rubbed, so that the last few letters of each line are lost. The words or letters which I have restored conjecturally are usually enclosed in brackets.

etics") that Simeon *did* accept the council of Chalcedon. We know, in fact, that this saint, whose dictum was of such great importance, was claimed not only by Monophysites and Chalcedonians, but also by Nestorians. In at least one of the three letters, moreover, the writer's main purpose is, professedly, to silence his calumniators. The letter addressed to the abbot Jacob of Kaphrā R^hīmā was intended (to use its own words) "to be used for the consolation and confirmation of the orthodox everywhere, and for the stopping of the mouth of perverse heretics." And a little further on, the writer implies that his Chalcedonian enemies have produced documents (which he brands as forgeries) in support of their assertion. "I did not approve [the council]," he says, "*nor did I write anything to that effect*, nor can they prove that I ever gave them countenance in any way; nor will any one assert that I did, unless he wishes to destroy his soul by lying and slander." That is, it is not a question of Simeon's *conversion* from Melkite to Monophysite views; he says here (or is made to say) most distinctly that he never at any time gave the hated 'synod' his support. If, then, this letter to Jacob is genuine, it follows that the letters above quoted or alluded to, preserved by Evagrius, Cyrillus Scythopolitanus, and the rest, are all forgeries.

But can Simeon have been the author of these Monophysite epistles? From all that we know of his surroundings and the influences to which he was subjected, we should expect to find him a Chalcedonian. He had passed all his life in the Antiochian district; a district in which sectional pride had been strong during the last decades of his life, while the 'Antiochian party' still held its ground and made its influence felt. It is true that as early as the middle of the fifth century the Syrian theology was losing its hold on the laity,¹ and we know that among the monks, especially, the Monophysite doctrines were more and more decidedly gaining the upper hand in this region, as in most other parts of the East. But the great Monophysite triumphs here came after Simeon's day; while he lived, war was waged in Syria quite as bitterly between Nestorians and men who held views like those of Ibas of Edessa, as between Monophysites and their opponents. What is much more important, Simeon was

¹ See Hallier, *Untersuchungen über die edessenische Chronik*, p. 76; and cf. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*,² ii. p. 367, bottom.

not a mere monk among monks, but was hand in glove with the Syrian leaders. Theodoret, the pillar of the Antiochians, was his friend. We know that Domnus II. of Antioch (patriarch, 442-449), a steady opponent of the Monophysites from the first,¹ was received by Simeon with especial favor on at least one occasion. See the story told in the *Life* (ed. Bedjan, p. 581), and repeated, in somewhat different form, by Evagrius, *Ecl. Hist.*, i. 13 (Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, i. 245 f.). The impression of the Stylite which we gain from the *Life* and from our other sources is that he was in full sympathy and coöperation with those who were the acknowledged leaders of the Syrian church. The council of Chalcedon reinstated Theodoret and Ibas, who, together with Domnus and others, had been deposed at Ephesus in the council of 449. This action may well have given the bishops and clergy of this region a strong added reason for accepting the Chalcedonense, as in fact they generally did.² It is natural to suppose that Simeon was of one mind with them in this.

The evidence afforded by the letters (whether genuine or not) given by Evagrius and the *Vita Euthymii* has already been noticed. Their testimony to Simeon's reputation as a Chalcedonian is weighty; that furnished by the story of Euthymius and the letter to Eudocia deserving, perhaps, especially to be emphasized.³ And there is another noteworthy bit of evidence of a somewhat similar nature. In the *Edessene Chronicle*, lxix., the death of Simeon Stylites is recorded, as the event distinguishing the year 771 (A.D. 459).⁴ This means, as Hallier remarks, that he is classed as a Chalcedonian. The compiler of the *Chronicle*, who is a Chalcedonian with an added Nestorian bias, writes with such strong party prejudice that he passes over the Monophysite saints and dignitaries in silence (Hallier, *Edess. Chron.*, p. 74 f.).

¹ He appears to have been the first formally to impeach the orthodoxy of Eutyches.

² See the epistle of Nonnus of Edessa, written to the Emperor Leo, and signed by a number of the bishops of the region (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, i. 258).

³ Cyril of Scythopolis was no ordinary biographer, but a zealous and trustworthy historian, careful of his statements and critical of his sources. For his *Life of Euthymius*, moreover, he had especially good material at his disposal.

⁴ Hallier, *Untersuchungen über die edessenische Chronik*, p. 115 f.; Syriac text, p. 152.

In view of this array of testimony, direct and indirect, the presumption against the three Monophysite "Letters of Simeon the Stylite" is very strong. The argument from silence, moreover, adds its weight. These letters, if genuine, must have been very widely known. One was addressed to the emperor himself; another to the patriarch of Antioch, about to set out on his ill-fated journey to the first council at Ephesus; the third was expressly intended to be circulated as a campaign document, being the final dogmatic utterance of the great ascetic. But they are never mentioned, either by Monophysite historians or by others; nor does anybody outside of these two Syriac manuscripts seem ever to have heard of them.

In the letters themselves, there are not wanting indications which also tend to show that they are forgeries. With regard to the chronology presupposed in the first letter, this fact is perhaps worthy of notice: Simeon speaks of himself as having waited more than a reasonable time after receiving the emperor's letter (and returning his answer?), in hope that measures would be taken to undo what had been done at Chalcedon. But being disappointed in this hope, he finally wrote the present letter. Now Leo, who came to the throne in February, 457, probably sent out his circular letters in the year 458, but possibly even later.¹ In any case, the interval of time before Simeon's death (September, 459) would be very short—though perhaps not too short—for such a (second) reply as this from the saint.

In the second letter, the self-description in the address, "Simeon, who stands upon the pillar near the village Telneš," is suspicious. It would hardly have occurred to the saint to describe himself in just this way, especially as he was the only Simeon Stylites in the world. But at a later day, when there had been other pillar-saints who bore the name Simeon, it would be necessary to mention the locality in order surely to identify the writer of this document.

The third letter is distinctly a *vaticinium ex eventu*. Whether or not John of Antioch was secretly a friend of Nestorius, and purposely managed to arrive late in Ephesus,² it is quite incredi-

¹ According to Theophanes Confessor (ed. Classen, i. 170, 172), Leo wrote the letters two years after his accession. Similarly Georgius Cedrenus (Migne, col. 662), "tertio anno."

² As, e. g., Harnack is inclined to believe (*Dogmengeschichte*,³ ii. 342, note 1). For the contrary view, see Neander's *History of the Church*, (trans. Torrey), ii. 528 f.

ble that any one, even in the city of Antioch, could thus have foretold the course which events would take, and the meeting of that "holy synod" which was to be held by Cyril and his monks.¹

It is, of course, unnecessary to argue that the superscriptions prefixed to the letters in our two manuscripts belong to a later day than that of the Stylite. As for the part played by Theodore in provoking the epistle to Leo, the death of this friend of Simeon's took place probably before the emperor sent out his circular letter, and certainly before this epistle could have been written.

Finally, most interesting evidence of the forgery is to be found in a *fourth* Syriac letter belonging to this same group. It is contained in both of the manuscripts, where it immediately follows the "Letter (or letters) of Simeon." I give, as before, the text of Add. 12154 with the variant readings of Add. 12155.²

[illegible]

¹ There would be nothing strange, to be sure, in Simeon's writing to the patriarch John at this time, urging him to keep clear of Nestorius and his doctrines. We have a letter of Theodosius to the Stylite, written shortly before the convening of the council, in which the emperor beseeches him to use his influence with John of Antioch to this end (Harduin, *Acta Conciliorum*, i. 1685). It was, perhaps, with that letter in mind that this one was composed.

² This collated copy of the Syriac text was very kindly made for me, at my request, by the Rev. G. Margoliouth, of the British Museum.

³ חל B ? חל. ⁴ חל, and add. חל.

⁵ Add. . ⁶ Add. . ⁷ .

⁸ **و**, and om. , in the next word. ⁹ Add. **و**.

¹⁰ Om. , reading . ¹¹ Add. . ¹² .

¹³ See note on **𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣**; above, p. 265. ¹⁴ **𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣**.

¹⁵ This verbal adjective, "distressing," should be added to the Syriac lexicons, none of which contain it, so far as I have seen.

"things which Simeon and Jacob wrote" to John and Theodoret. Thus there is secured the written testimony of four of the foremost anti-Monophysites of this region that Simeon Stylites spurned their doctrines, and was in turn rejected from their fellowship.

We have, then, in these four Syriac letters, an interesting example of that forgery of documents which often played such an important part in the fierce controversies of the fifth and following centuries.¹ The temptation to this misuse of Simeon's name was especially strong; though it was a thing that could not easily be done until after his generation had passed away. He had written no books (if, indeed, he could read and write at all), and therefore a forgery in his name would be the less easily exposed.² His support was no small prize to be gained, for he was looked up to as an inspired man, gifted with superhuman knowledge and power. Even the most sober-minded and best educated of those who knew him personally—such as Theodoret, for example—believed him to be a constant worker of miracles. His fame continued unabated after his death;³ and it is not surprising that some time after, perhaps in the following century, when the bone and sinew of Christian Syria was already Monophysite, and the strife with "Synodites" was still incredibly bitter, some less scrupulous controversialist should have dared to invent these oracles of the great saint.

It is probable that we have the forged documents complete in manuscript A. They seem to be the work of a single writer, and it is hardly likely that the collection ever contained any others. The scribe of the manuscript B (or of one of its ancestors), as is evident, chose to save himself time and trouble by omitting the two longest of the letters; copying only the first, with its secondary superscription, and the fourth.

¹ "Das Fälschen von Acten war im 5.—7. Jahrhundert eine wichtige Waffe zur Vertheidigung des Heiligen" (Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*,³ ii. 371, note 4).

² The silence of the *Life* on Simeon's doctrinal views (due perhaps to the fact that its authors did not fully sympathize with him in this regard) would also have assisted materially.

³ Evagrius (i. 13) narrates how he once was permitted to see the body of the great Stylite; which, it seems, was not quite safe from relic-hunters. The face was well preserved, he writes, "excepting such of his teeth as had been violently removed by faithful men."

sense of "compose" (a book or other writing).¹ He might have added that the word could hardly bear any other interpretation here, inasmuch as the colophon says, after giving the names of these two, "who took the pains to 'make' this book": "for they 'made' it by the labor of their hands and the sweat of their faces." It follows, that 473 A.D. was the date of the completion of the original work. The scribe of the Vatican manuscript simply reproduced, as usual, the colophon of an older codex; just when he made his copy, we do not know.²

The three manuscripts named present somewhat differing recensions of the work, as is of course to be expected in the case of a popular book of this kind. No serious attempt has as yet been made to determine which of these recensions stands nearest to the original. It is generally taken for granted that the Vatican codex is the oldest, and that its version of the history, which is considerably shorter than either of the others, is to be preferred. So, for example, Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*,² p. xiii.: "der Vaticanische Text ist übrigens, wie es scheint, im Ganzen ursprünglicher als der des British Museum." But both of these current opinions deserve to be challenged; and in the case of the latter, it seems possible to prove to the contrary, in one important point at least. Bedjan, who printed the text of the London manuscript Add. 14484, dated by Wright in the sixth century, gives in his preface (p. xii. f.) a list of the numerous passages, some of them of considerable length, which are found in the London manuscript (or manuscripts), but are missing in the Vatican codex. An examination of these passages seems to make it plain that the longer recension, represented by the London codices, is to be preferred to the other. A single illustration will suffice. In Bedjan's text, p. 525 f., where the story of Simeon's first entrance into Telneššē is told, we have a smooth and consistent account, in the well-known style of this book. But no one can read the Vatican recension here, comparing it with the other, without seeing at once that it is the result of a mere mutilation of the original. A passage a dozen lines long has been cut out

¹ See the numerous examples in Payne-Smith.

² It may be that we have his words in the last section of the colophon, where, after the two authors of the work have made their request for the prayers of the reader, the scribe adds his own request.

bodily ; regarding this fact there is no room for doubt. That is, the Roman codex contains a "clipped" version of the *Life* ; in which the scribe has abridged from his original in the favorite way, by leaving out here and there passages of varying length.

It is likely that the oldest of our manuscripts stand at several removes from the original, and certain that the text of each has suffered from accidental corruption—aside from the alterations in matter and order. In view of the age of this biography, and the interest attaching to it, some further comparison of the several recensions might be worth while.

The personified Asha—By LAWRENCE H. MILLS, Professor
in the University of Oxford.¹

UNDER this title I shall endeavor to discuss Asha first as the Archangel, and then, in a brief appendix, Asha as incorporate in the Holy Community.

Asha as the Archangel.

While Asha as the universal law of sanctity and as the attribute of Ahura and his saints was, and remains, logically necessary before any human being, however rudimental, could have believed in the existence of such an angel called 'Asha' as readers of the Gâthas are in the habit of figuring to themselves, or even of such a sub-god as we have in the later Avesta (as one of six), it is yet fully evident as a matter of fact that the abstract idea became indeed personified in the due and natural course of the development of views, and this at, or previous to, the gâthic period. This is not only unquestionable in certain instances, but the occurrence of the word in this sense is very frequent.

In many of the sections Asha as the personal sub-god is so prominent as to give character to the whole body of the thought; and though to inexperienced readers '*ashu* as the law' seems to claim the first place in our attempts at exegesis, it might be a question with some whether this personification is not the most frequent use of the word, as it meets us at every turn.² But the principle with which we should begin the exegesis of the Asha-concept should not be lost sight of, and had better be stated distinctly once more, so that we may not feel too rigidly committed to our preferred views as to which shade of meaning may be conveyed by the self-same term in different but sometimes closely contiguous passages. That principle is this; that the thoughts of both the original composer and of his first hearers often flowed

¹ See the article on *Asha as the Law in the Gâthas*, in this JOURNAL, Vol. xx, First Half, pp. 31-53.

² Our present object is, however, not arithmetical; whether the abstract, or the person, be the more frequent concept is a secondary though not unimportant consideration.

quickly from one form of the great concept to another, or indeed to all the others consecutively, but with diminishing closeness and distinctness. The difference in the usage was a difference as to the immediate intention of the composer in the particular passage under review independently of other passages, and then it was a difference even as to the degree of emphasis or prominence in which one of the particular sub-concepts was made use of, with only a very rare exclusion of all the others, or at least with only a very rare exclusion of them which was total. And this remark may suffice us to prepare the way in the study of Asha as the person or personification.

We must study the occurrences of Asha as the Person, seeking to decide where his presence is the immediate idea intended to be conveyed by the composer, though with an undefined inclusion of all the other concepts, and at least with an implied allusion to them.

In considering the subject I shall not attempt any too fine-drawn distinction between the rhetorical (so to speak) or figurative personification of Asha and such a personification as immediately expresses a positive belief in his substantive existence as an actual individual entity. We are ourselves so familiar with the difficulty in distinguishing between (say) the places in the Semitic scripture where the "spirit of God" means the "characteristic of his nature" on the one hand and those where they express the idea of a separate divine personality on the other, that we can the more readily excuse a hesitation on the part of Zendists as to whether the composer of the Gáthās also really intended in any given cases to propose a real or a rhetorical personification. Suffice it to say that both are to a high degree valuable, for while the rhetorical use of the term expressing the idea of personification shows more vigour and expansion of thought, the simple belief in the actual Archangel marks the presence of long-standing objective convictions which cannot fail to possess for us a not inconsiderable historical importance.

Our task in citing the passages from the Gáthas in which Asha appears as the personification of the law in the rhythm of the Divine Order is an easy one in certain occurrences and under certain circumstances, for a grammatical form here often solves our difficulties at once. This is the case where the thoughts in the context to our text force us to believe that the word '*asha*' is used as a vocative. And a few instances occur, here and there, where the connected expressions are of such a character as to

render the sub-deity not difficult of recognition even where the noun which reproduces the name stands in the sociative-instrumental case. But many other instances occur where Asha appears in this instrumental case, and yet it is much more difficult to determine whether the person or the thing was meant; so difficult, indeed, that our decision as to whether we have before us the instrumental of association, the instrumental of qualified action, or the vocative, must often depend upon our own personal preconceptions. I do not know but that it would be desirable to consider each of these categories separately, though for the purposes of synopsis it may be sufficient to sum them each up in the form of an index at the end.

But it is obviously the more profitable course for us to proceed at once to seize upon those occurrences of Asha where his personality comes out in a manner which excludes all possible doubt, for there are indeed a very few places where the qualifying words made use of to explain the force of the meaning of the term are of an altogether exceptional nature, so that while later taking up the occurrences of Asha as a person according to the order of the grammatical cases in which the word appears, we will endeavour at once to awaken our interest in the whole subject by looking at these few striking instances, and for the moment without any special regard to the particular grammatical form which is immediately involved (although that form happens as a matter of fact to be in this connection most frequently the instrumental of association).

The concept of personified Justice as it arises from the fulfilment of nature's promises becomes immediately apparent in Yasna 28, where it culminates in connection with a striking and almost anthropomorphical expression, in a strophe where the otherwise sometimes so difficult instrumental of association is definitely determined by this word (without which it would not be easily recognized with certainty). This altogether unquestionable expression of the idea of personal consciousness is rich in the vivid associations which it recalls, for it brings up before us a momentary picture of close sympathy between two or more devoutly believed-in divine beings, one of them supreme, and the other, or others, if not his equal, or equals, at least sometimes "his son" or "sons," as at Y. 44, 3 : *kasnā zūthvā patā ashahyā p(a)ouruyō* (= *-vyō*) . . .,¹ and his "good companion," as at Y.

¹ This *a* is an ancient sign of increment or accent.

32, 2 (as to which see below). The expression which is so decisive in this matter occurs first at Y. 28, 8. It is *hazaosha*, "of one will," perhaps "of one delighted will"; *vahištem thvā vahištā yēm ashā vahištā hazaoshem ahurem yāsā*, which can only mean that "I pray Thee' O best One, for that best gift¹; Thee who (acc. for nom. as in *dātarem*, etc.) art Ahura (acc. for nom. according to the idiom), one-in-mind with the best Asha"; that is to say, "I ask it of Thee who art in harmonious coöperation with Asha" (as Thy companion especially guarding Thy holy law and giving it efficiency). So also in Y. 29, 7 we have this sympathy actually represented as animating a creative action; *tēm . . . A. māthrem tashaṭ ashā hazaoshō*, "Mazda Ahura created this manthra . . . one-in-will with Asha," while Y. 51, 20, that same remarkable and extremely valuable, if somewhat degenerated, delineation of sympathy which occurs in Yasht xiii. is anticipated; all the Amesha are alluded to as being "of-one-mind," *taṭ vē nē hazaoshāōñhō vīspāōñhō daidyāi savō*; while Asha is especially named as in harmonious coöperation with Vohumanah (of course it would be wholly impossible to render *asha* as the "congregation" here, or "in sympathy with Vohumanah as the individual worshipper," see *yazemndōñhō*, 'being sacrificed to').

The passages recall the Vedic occurrences which are well in analogy; cp. Rigveda, iii. 62. 2: *sajóshāu indrávaruṇā marúdbhīr divā' pṛthivyā' gr̥ṇutam hávam me*. Sây. *sajoshau saṃgacchan̐tau*, "O ye Indra and Varuṇa of one mind (*sajóshau*) with the Maruts, with Heaven and Earth, hear ye my call." So RV. i. 118. 11 of the Násatya, *sajóshāh*: Sây. *sajoshasau samānaprītiyuktau* . . . (see, however, Ludwig).

See RV. v. 54. 6 of the *Maruts*: *sajoshasaṭ* . . .; Sây. *he sajoshaso yushmāsu parasparāṃ samānaprītayo* . . . RV. ii, 31. 2 of the gods in general: *ádha smā na úd avatā sajoshaso rátham devāso abhī vikshú vājayām*: Sây. *samānam prīyamānā* . . .

Also RV. x, 35. 11 of the *Āditya's*: *tā ādityā ā' gatā sarvātātaye vrdhē no yajñām avatā sajoshasaḥ*: Sây.: *sajoshasaḥ, saṃgatāḥ* . . .: "Come hither, ye *Āditya's*, for our full well-being one-in-mind; help on our sacrifice that we may thrive."

¹ *yāsā* governs two accusatives.

The term *hazaosha* leaves no room at all for question as to the personification of Asha, and one would think that its very marked meaning even excluded a possible form of rhetoric here; we can hardly suggest that this personified Asha was wholly, or at all, figurative. An appeal seems to be made to a familiar popular belief in the existence of a separate sub-god or Archangel of the character described.

Other occurrences of Asha as expressing the concept of the person or personification I will consider in their proper place, while I pause again, before considering the less marked passages, to recall those which represent prayers or apostrophes addressed to Asha and in the vocative case, as these, next to the instances just cited, are those most calculated to impress our convictions as to the fact of the personification rhetorically or confessionally used. Strophes of the character indicated again meet us at the very outset of the Gâthas (as they now lie before us in the MSS., in an order of sequence determined largely by accident). We have at once in Y. 28, 3: *Yē vāo ashā ufyānī manascā vohū ap(a)ourvīm* (= *-vyem*) . . ., "I (who) will praise you O Asha and Vohumanah, in a manner which has no first." . . . This is plainly a proof of the personification, and even a positive expression of a belief in the personal being of Asha as against a possible form of rhetoric; for the composer is evidently yielding to one of those fervent impulses which so often led him to pour forth now one name of the chief sub-deities, now another, till the whole four had been named with Ahura, and in this thoroughly "living" section they are by no means dragged in in a mechanical manner as perhaps they are elsewhere, sometimes even in the Gâthas. So in the memorable Y. 28, 5, whether we read in Y. 28, 4: *yavaṭ isāi tavadā avat khsāi aēshē ashahya* "So long as I can and have the power I will 'learn' to wish (*aēshe* = *ā-ishē*) for Asha," or "I will 'teach' men 'in the wish' for him"; see the affecting prayer which immediately follows: *ashā kaṭ thvā dar(e)sānī*, "O Asha when shall I see thee (or merely 'shall I indeed see thee,' *kaṭ* the sign of the interrogative; cp. ved. *kād*)" is in itself a personification. And in this case we may really claim that it is a rhetorical personification, which is of course a much higher conception than the mere popular belief in Asha as an actual archangelic person. The composer is longing for the results for which he is striving 'as much as he can and may have the power' (see Y. 28, 4), "knowing the rewards of Ahura for deeds," and he exclaims,

"Ay, O Asha, shall I see thee (in the holiness of those deeds and in the rewards for which he had just prayed), O Asha, shall I see thee (thus embodied)? (cp. *astvaŧ* Y. 43, 16, and see the strophe elsewhere treated.)

So also in Y. 28, 7: *daidē ashā tām ashīm vanhēuš dyaptā mananīhō*, "give, O Asha, the *ashī*," that is to say, the "blest reward," implies personification of the more pronounced type.

In Y. 29, 10 one might say that we were rather forced to regard Asha as a vocative of the personified concept as included within the plural 'you,' *yāzhēm aēibyo ahurā aogō dātā ashā khshathremēd*, for see the singular *thrām* applied to *Mazdā* in line *c*; but, as so often, the suspicion of an instrumental of the attribute (in its state of activity) predominates.¹

In Y. 33, 8 '*ashā*' in "*yasnem mazdā* (voc.) *khshmaŋvatō, aŧ vā ashā staomyā vacō*" is in the vocative of the personification, "Your praiser's Yasna, O Mazda, and your words for praise, O Asha."

Then we have the striking Y. 33, 11: *yē sevištō ahurō mazdāoŋcā ār(a)maitišcā ashemcā . . . sraotā mōi . . .* 'Ye who are Ahura and Âramaiti and Asha furthering the Gaēthas, hear ye me' . . . (*ashem* is, indeed no vocative, but it presupposes a "Thou" in the vocative).

So in Y. 33, 12, if *ashā* be a vocative (?) . . . *ahurā āramaitī* (instr. (?)) *tevišhīm dasvā . . . ashā hazō ēmavaŧ vohā mananīhā fseratām*, "Give, O Asha, mighty strength and the *fseratu*." (But see Ahura above in the vocative which seems to displace *ashā* as the vocative below; and see also the closely accompanying instrumentals *vohu m.*; "Give, O Ahura, mighty strength and the f. with justice (*ashā*) and benevolence (*vohā m.*)."²

In Y. 34, 6 we have either a sociative instrumental like the next words *vohā mananīhā* or a vocative. But if the word were uttered as instrumental, it associates the name Asha so closely with the foregoing vocative *mazdā* as to be in this connection itself also practically a vocative, *yēzi athā stā haithīm* (= *yem*). *mazdā, ashā vohā mananīhā*, "If ye (notice the plural) are really thus, O Mazda with Asha (i. e. O Mazda and O Asha) with Vohumanah."

Vocatives of a still more doubtful character are such as *ashā* in Y. 46, 18: *mazdā ashā khshmaŋkem vārem khshnaoshemnō*;

¹ See First Half, p. 41.

² See First Half, p. 43.

mazdā, *ashā*, may here be both vocatives, but the adverbial instrumental "by exact sanctity" would very reasonably show how the worshipper was to satisfy "Ahura's will."¹

In Y. 48, 8: *kā thuōi ashā ākō ar(e)drēng isyā (isyāi)* "How shall I seek (how shall I pray for the acquisition of) thy open (princely) offerers, (as our open and devoted partisans) O Asha," is possible, but "using the ritual (*ashā*) in my prayers" is better.²

So in Y. 48, 9: *kadā vaēdā yezi cahyā khshayathā mazdā ashā*, we may indeed have, "Shall I (or 'when shall I') know if over aught Ye govern, O Mazda, and Asha?" but it is also obvious that "when shall I know if over aught Ye govern, O Mazda, in accordance with your law of justice" affords an admirable alternative.²

So in Y. 48, 11: *kadā mazdā ashā maṭ ār(a)maitiš . . .*, "When, O Mazda and Asha, is Āramaiti coming!" is a very natural rendering, but hardly more so than "When is she the alert-minded-one coming, introduced, invited (or 'invoked') through thy holy ritual chant?" (In Y. 48, 11 the instrumental of personal association also suggests itself; "when is Āramaiti coming together with Asha?" "together with the congregation" would be singularly out of place.)

So in Y. 49, 1: *yē duš-erethrīš cikshnushā ashā mazdā . . .*, *ashā* and *mazdā* may be vocatives; but see the priority of *ashā*, and the aptness of the "ritual" as the vehicle of supplicating prayers offered for the sake of conciliating the hostile elements in the disturbed population.¹

So in Y. 49, 7: *sraotā ashā gāshahvā tā ahurā . . .*, we first think of the attribute here, "let him listen with holy fidelity";² but, "let him listen, O Asha" is possible, or even if the word be in the instrumental of the abstract it may afford us one of those occurrences of an instrumental almost in a nominative sense, as in Y. 29, 3: *ahmāi ashā . . . paīti-mravat*. In this latter case, "he-with-*asha*" might seem at first sight to be meant to express the personified subject, as also in Y. 48, 1, but the proximity of a verb meaning 'to speak' determines the sense to be that of the attribute.

So in Y. 50, 3: *atōit ahmāi mazdā ashā aīhaitī . . . yām naz-dištām gaēthām dregvādo bahkshaitī*, we are not certain whether

¹ See First Half, p. 49.

² See First Half, p. 51.

we may have before us, "She, the Cow, shall be for him, O Mazda and Asha, . . . (who causes the border-farm to thrive—so, freely)," or, "She shall be for him in accordance with thy justice (*ashā*) . . . who shall advance the settlement nearest to what the hostile neighbour claims or shares (with us as the border line)."

So also in Y. 50, 5 : *ārōi zi khshma mazdā ashā ahurā* may mean, "O Mazda and Asha, Ye Ahuras (cp. *mazdāosca ahurdonho* in Y. 30, 9), I have aroused myself (*ārōi*)," or, "I (am) in energetic readiness (*ārōi* loc., cp. *ustā* locative = 'in my longed-for wish'), O Mazda, through the chants of your holy ritual (*ashā*)."

So in Y. 50, 7 : *at vē yaojā . . . mazdā ashā ugrēng vohā mananīhā* may mean, "O ye Mazda and Asha, I would yoke-on your mighty steeds (or better "do Thou yoke-on your mighty ones") through the ritual chants (*ashā*); (as I invoke them with the Manthra intoned before the altar)."

So in Y. 50, 8 : *maṭ vāo paddāiš . . . at vāo ashā ar(e) drāhyācā nemanīhā*, we may have here, "Yea I approach you, O Asha," but we cannot lose sight of the following words, nor of the entire connection, "yea I approach you, O Mazda, with metrical hymns, with the ritual (*ashā*) and with the offering of a devoted coöperating chieftain," "yea I approach you with the wise judgment of a good mind(ed citizen)." Ahura may be the only vocative in the strophe.

Mazda and Asha in Y. 50, 9 look very much more like two vocatives, see the *vāo* : *tāiš vāo yasndāiš paīti-stavas ayenī mazdā ashā vanhēuš syaothndāiš mananīhō . . .*, "With these your Yasnas praising I approach you, O Mazda and Asha, and with the ceremonial and moral actions of a good citizen (i. e. of the good mind)"; yet even here the sense may be "with ritual exactness, with these Yasnas, and with the (ceremonial and moral) deeds inspired by the good mind."²

So in Y. 50, 11 : *at vē staotā aojāi mazdā anīhācā yavaṭ ashā tavācā isāicā*, we may have, "I will be called and I will indeed be your praiser, O Mazda and Asha"; but "I may be called your praiser, O Mazda, and so with truth (*ashā*) I will be it, so far as I can and may have the power" affords a very natural alternative meaning, *vāo* being regarded as the frequent plural of dignity. [Notice in passing that these last expressions, "so far as I can," do not refer to *receptive* action (*sic*) but to "praising," which

¹ See First Half, p. 51.

² See First Half, p. 52.

leads us to prefer the meaning in Y. 28, 4: *ashīšcā syaothana-nām viduṣ mazdāo ahurahyā yavaṭ isāi tavācā avat khsāi aēshē ashahyā*, "I knowing the rewards (line b) will 'teach' (because I know them) as long as I can and have the power" to the rendering, "I will 'learn' as long as I can and have the power" (to wish for Asha)]. Returning to *ashā*, see (at Y. 50, 11) the situation of the word *mazdā* separated from *ashā* by *aihvācā* and *yavaṭ*, which makes "O Mazda and O Asha" still more improbable.

In Y. 51, 2: *tā vē mazdā p(a)ourvīm (= -yam or -yem) ahurā ashā yaecā taibyaecā ār(a)maitē*, we have what seem to be two vocatives, "These are your (two) gifts, O Mazda and Asha, at first" (or "your two first gifts,"), and "what two things are thine, weal and deathlessness, O Aramaiti"; and yet "your gifts imparted with justice" is also possible.

In Y. 51, 3: *āt vē gēushā hēmyaṇtē yōi vē syaothnāiš sārēntē ahurā ashā hizvā ukhāhāiš vanhēuṣ manānhō*, one would say at first sight that we had a (certain) vocative carrying with it, as usual, its guaranty of personification: "On account of your hearing (that you may hear—otherwise in my Gāthas, 'to hear you'—), they are gathering, O Ahura and Asha." But whenever 'hearing' as well as 'saying' is indicated (so also of 'teaching') we naturally suspect the accompanying *ashā* to be in the instrumental and to mean "with the ritual" or "with truth"; cp. First Half, p. 52, and see "with the tongue, and with the hymns of the good-minded (man)."

Such would seem to be a summary of the striking occurrences of Asha as possibly, though not always probably, the personified Law in the vocative case, or in an instrumental of association which brings it into very close connection with adjacent vocatives.

We can now proceed to cite and examine the occurrences at which Asha as the 'personification' appears in the other grammatical forms, in the nominatives, the remaining and less striking occurrences of the instrumental, the datives, etc.

The personal Asha in the nominative or accusative occurs at Y. 29, 11: *kudā ashem vohvācā manō khshathremcā at mā mashā*. Both Ashem and Khashhathremcā look as if they were vocatives in view of the following *yuzhēm*, and I so rendered them (see Gāthas at the place), being followed in this view analogously by a friend who finds other vocatives in -am or -em. The *yuzhēm* . . . *paitī zānatā* seems, indeed, to include those words; but, after

all, the nominatives may stand, "Are (or 'when are') Asha, Vohumanah and Khshathra hastening (to us)?" (not "*venitis*," as in my Gâthas). Or the nominative may have been used *for* the vocative in a manner analogous to that use of an instrumental which suggests the nominative. As we might often explain "with-*ashā*" as "(he) with-*ashā*" and "(I) with-*ashā*," so *ashem* may be meant to express "(Thou who art) Asha"; this in view of the following *yuzhēm* with the second plural imperative, "Do ye (O Mazda, Asha and Khshathra) assign to us your aid."

In Y. 31, 4: *yaddā ashem zevīm* (*z = zevyem* (or *-yam*)) *aihen*, "When Asha is propitious . . .," we have the nominative of the word as the personification; see the following "and the Ahuras of Mazda," with the substance of the prayer cited, "Give us that mighty *khshathra* (i. e. that strong military power) with which we may smite the foe."

In Y. 49, 3: *atcā ahmāi varendi mazdā nidātem ashem sād-yāi*, *ashem* is in the nominative, but hardly so clearly personified, yet the Archangel might well be "stationed" to bless the cause.

In Y. 51, 4: *kuthrā yasō hyēn ashem, kū . . . ?* "Where is Asha coming," we have the word evidently both as nominative and as personification, distinctly recalling Y. 29, 11.

In Y. 51, 20: *taṭ vē nē hazaoshdonhō vīspdonhō daidyāi savō ashem vohā manānhā*, *Ashem*, as *hazaosha* "with all his colleagues (in the one wish to give us succour)" is both personal and nominative (see above); while in Y. 51, 21 *Ashem* is in the nominative of the personal concept, "Through the law Asha is bountiful."

Let us now study a little more closely the "instrumental Asha approximately in the sense of a nominative," to which I have alluded above.

The response to the question of the *gēuš tashan* in Y. 29, 4: *ahmāi ashā . . . paiti-mravaṭ . . . hātām hvō aojištō yahmāi zavēng jīmā keredushā* might well express the personification of Asha himself, were he not the speaker; and even as it stands, a personification may be intended to be expressed as in a secondary application of the force of the word, "He answered with his essential characteristic of fidelity and truth," i. e. "as 'Asha' indeed"; that is to say, "Asha characteristically (truthfully) answered." In this explanation the force of a nominative of the word in the sense of the personified idea comes plainly out.

In this case the following *jimā*, if a first pers. singular conj.= "I will come," would represent Asha as a person, approaching Ahura; but he could only be regarded as drawing near in this manner when considered as representing the people in a certain sense; and yet as answering, he is at the same time the personal sub-god, a somewhat awkward and unusual combination of the ideas. The passage is, however, otherwise very difficult to render decisively; see *Gāthas* at pp. 414-418 inclusive; perhaps the line *c* refers to the composer of the piece; this would obviate some difficulty.

It is indeed possible that the composer touched the idea of the "saints" at Y. 48, 1: *yēzi addiṣ (āddiṣ) ashā druḡem vēññhaiti* (sic)? when he chanted, "If through his administrative procedure (*addiṣ*) aided by the holy church (*ashā*—see below on 'Asha as the congregation') he (our leader) smites the Lie-demon's (hosts)"; yet we must not overlook the fact that in the 'men' of line *c* we probably have the 'saints,' which would render *ashā* as expressing the 'congregation' the more improbable at that place in line *a*, so that the meaning, "If right thoroughly (*ptēna*, i. e. by means of his thoroughly sound and honest zeal), or "If with the help of Asha the Archangel," may be more suitable there; the occurrence, however, looks very like that in Y. 29, 3, where Asha himself is said to "answer *ashā* 'with his truthfulness'" (First Half, *ad loc.*); and in any case we have the adverbial instrumental carrying with it the pronoun understood in the nominative case. Compare the quasi-nominative use of the locative adverbial *uštā* in Y. 30, 11, where this oblique case seems to be the pronounced subject of *anhaiti* (one would feel almost tempted to term it a nom. pl. neut. as often in agreement with the singular verb, compare the Greek usage). And so in Y. 43, 1 *uštā* agrees with a verbal form understood in the singular, *uštā ahñdi yahñdi uštā kahñdicīt*, etc. The use of the instrumental as if with a nominative understood might be termed "the instrumental with the inherent subject," if it were sufficiently frequent; for it is certainly highly characteristic.

To dwell now for a moment on the personal *ashā* in the accusative, notice *ashem* as both personal and accusative at Y. 28, 9 (see this place also treated elsewhere). There we have: *noit . . . ashem . . . zaranaēmā*, "May we not anger Asha (by inapt prayers). In Y. 29, 2 we have: *adā tashā gēuš peresaṭ ashem*. The Tashā gēuš asks Asha evidently as a person. (But

in Y. 31, 22: *vohā hvō khshathrā ashem vacanāhā shyaoth(a)ndā hapti*, the accusative *ashem* is rather the law, than the law personified.) As regards Y. 43, 10: *at tā mōi dāiš ashem hyat mā zaozomī* . . . , as I said in the former article, Part I,¹ "Show (or 'send'?) me thine *Asha*," sounds rather puerile when referred *directly* to the Archangel with the meaning of the word far in the background; but the form of the sentence certainly suggests the *rhetorical* personification, in view of the words "that I may invoke him." In Y. 43, 12: *ashem jasō frākhshnenē*, one does not feel so sure that "may'st thou come for knowledge to *Asha*" presents more than a rhetorically formed personification; still the expression 'coming to' certainly points to the *image*, at least, of a person; "Come to the Law for light" would be vigorous, but not vigorous as a rhetorical personification.

In Y. 44, 6: *ashem syaothndāiš debāzaitē ār(a)maitiš*, *ashem* is hardly a personification, even in that wide or remote inclusiveness of all such kindred ideas which is so characteristic of *Asha*, as of the other five concepts.² But in Y. 51, 10: *maibyō zbayā ashem* gives a clear personification, "to me I call *Asha*," the grammatical form being that of the accusative case.

For *Asha* as personal with the word in the instrumental case aside from the passages already cited, compare Y. 30, 1: *humāzdrā ashā yaēcā yā raocēbīš dar(e)satā vrāzā* seems an instance of *ashā* in the instrumental, and the personality is rendered probable by the evident personification of *Vohumanah* in the line immediately preceding; "both benignant counsels I will utter as with *Asha*," but of course "as with truth" strikes us at once as preferable, and perhaps indeed also on reflection.

The sociative under the form of the instrumental seems expressed in Y. 30, 7: *ahmāicā khshathrā jasat manānhā vohā ashācā*, "To us" (or "upon this") He came (who is endowed or accompanied with *Khshathra*, *Vohumanah* and *Asha*).

In Y. 32, 2: *paīti-mraot ashā hušhakhā hvēnvātā* (already referred to in passing), *Asha*, *hušhakhā hvēnvātā*, "with his glorious good friend *Asha*" (possibly "with his light-bearing good friend *Asha*") gives us the personification plainly enough, while the sociative case is rendered unmistakable by the *hušhakhā* (root *hae*); and yet note once more the exceedingly striking fact that this *ashā* which is thus most palpably personified as the 'good

¹ First Half, p. 44.

² See First Half, p. 46.

friend' and yet qualifies a word meaning 'to say' and 'to answer.' Could there be a more obvious proof of consciousness on the part of the composer; he seems to personify almost on purpose in a connection where the abstract idea 'with truth' is especially called for.

In Y. 34, 2, we have the same root *hac* (Ind. *sac*) present in immediate connection with Asha as a person whose soul "goes in company with Asha" (*ashā hacaitē*, sociative instrumental of the personal concept). In Y. 34, 6, if *ashā* be not in the vocative (see above), we have the sociative of the personal concept in *yēzī athā stā haithīm* (= *-yem mazdā ashā vohā manaiḥā*, "If thus ye are really, O Mazda with Asha and Vohumanah.") In Y. 34, 11: *ashā maṭ ār(a)maitiṣ vakhšt . . . haurvōscā hvar(e)thāi ā ameretatōscā* may mean, "Āramaiti (our devoted zeal, personified) increases both health and long deathless life for our maintenance together with Asha" (so possibly), Asha being taken as the personified concept, and the word being in the sociative instrumental; but "by means of the holy regulations of religion" might be the more exact rendering.

In Y. 44, 9: *hademōi ashā vohucā syās manaiḥā* evidently means, "dwelling in the same abode with Asha and Vohumanah," both words being in the sociative instrumental of the personified concept.

In Y. 44, 10 we have still another uncertainty: *yā (dāēnā) mōi gaēthāo ashā frādōiṭ hacēmnā* seems to reproduce once more the especial word which expresses association, *hac* (= Ind. *sac*), "Which holy faith causes the settlements to prosper in company with Asha," the word being in the sociative instrumental of the rhetorically personified concept, which next to that of the abstract idea stands highest as a mental product; yet it is impossible to deny the aptness of the rendering, "through the regulations of the Law" (see elsewhere).

At Y. 46, 13, in *tēm vē Ashā mēhmaidēi huš-hakhāim* (= *-khayam*) we may have a sociative as to the grammatical form notwithstanding *vē*, "Him we think your friend well-associated with Asha" (sic); the root *hac* seems again to carry with it a sociative instrumental form rather than a vocative in the adjacent word; but *ashā* seems more forcible when regarded as adverbially qualifying the friendly relation (see First Half, p. 49).

In Y. 46, 16 we have *yathrā ashā hacaitē ār(a)maitiṣ*, which can only mean (again), "Where A. is associated with Asha," the

latter word being in the instrumental sociative of the personal idea. As to Y. 48, 9: *kadā vaēdā yezī cahyā khshayathā mazdā ashā*, see above, p. 283, on the vocative *ashā*. If *mazdā ashā* be not both vocatives, the sociative instrumental *ashā* is possible, "If, O Mazda, ye rule together with Asha"; but the attribute would be decidedly our first thought here, "If ye rule, O Mazda, with the eternal law of justice . . ."

In Y. 48, 11: *kadā mazdā ashā maṭ dr(a)maitiš jimaṭ*, means, "When, O Mazda, does Âramaiti come in company with Asha," the latter word being fully determined in the sociative instrumental by *maṭ*. (In Y. 50, 4 *aṭ vāo yuzdi . . . hūdā ashā* may mean, "Together with Asha I will ever sacrifice," Asha in the sociative instrumental of the person; but it is far better taken as instrumental of the ritual, "I will ever worship you with the ritual," and with the best intention; see elsewhere.)

On Y. 51, 2: *tāt vē mazdā p(a)ourvīm* (= *-yam* or *-yem*; see above) *ahurā ashā* are either, "O Ahura, O Asha," or "O Ahura with Asha (sociative instrumental of the personal concept). So also possibly as to Y. 51, 3: *ā vē gēušā hēmyaṇtē yōi vē shyaoth(a)-nāiš sāreñtē ahurā ashā hizvā ukhdhāiš v. m.* (see above), we may have, "O Ahura, O Asha"; but *ashā* as instrumental, "with the ritual," would harmonize well with the following *ukhdhāiš vanihēuš manāihō* "with the hymns of the good-minded (saint)."

In Y. 51, 11: *kē vā ashā āfraštā* means, "And who has conferred with Asha by question," the word *ashā* being in the sociative instrumental of conference (and personal).

Looking over *ashā* as in the dative we soon come upon the reading *hvō nē mazdāi vaštī ashāicā car(e)kerethrā* at Y. 29, 8. Here *ashāi* (so reading) is dative possessive of the personified law, "He wishes to proclaim for us (for Mazda and for Asha) our completed deeds or counsels."

In Y. 30, 8: *yōi ashāi daden zastayō drujem*, "Who deliver the demon of the heretical falsehood (the Druj) into the two hands to Asha," is a graphic instance of personification, or rather of expressed belief in a spiritual person, *ashāi* being in the dative (not so certainly for genitive, but rather in the dative of goal, which certainly exists). So in Y. 32, 9: *ashāicā yāshmai-byā gerezē*, "To you and to Asha I cry," also in Y. 33, 14: . . . *dadāiti paurvatātem . . . syaothnahyā ashāi*, "He gives

¹ See First Half, p. 51.

his priority (or precedence) in action (or in the ceremony—? as an offering) to Asha (dative of the word expressing the concept of the person); and in Y. 34, 3: *aṭ tōi myazdem . . . ashāicā dāmd*, "Yea to thee and to Asha we present the myazda-offering."

In Y. 44, 14: *kathā ashāi drujem dyām zastayō* refers to Y. 30, 8 (for which see above); *ashāi* is again in the dative, the word expressing the personal concept, "Shall I (or 'How shall I') deliver the Druj(k) to Asha into his two hands?" In Y. 51, 15: *ashāicā savāiš civīshī* taken by itself can only mean, "And to Asha, on account of advantages (i. e. to secure blessings in return for the offering), these things were presented"; and certainly so, if we regard the line as addressed to Ahura. [To whom else does *vē*="to you" or "for you" refer? See *tā vē mazdā*, "these your . . . O Mazda," at Y. 51, 2: *ā vē geušā . . . Ahurā* "to you for the sake of your hearing" (that you may hear) . . . Y. 51, 3, *taṭ vē nē hazaoshāonhō* in Y. 51, 20; notice also as if in antithesis, *nē*="ours" or "for us." See further by way of antithesis, *vahistem taṭ nē nūcēt var(e)shānē* in Y. 51, 1. So also *athā nē sazilyāi uštā*, "Thus is *uštā* to be proclaimed to us" (with the metric feet—in 16), and *mōi*="to me" in Y. 51, 2; *aṭ yē mā . . .* "And who me" . . . Y. 51, 10; *berekhādhām mōi . . .* "A blest (person F. H. has shown (presented to) me," Y. 51, 17; *taṭ mōi dāidī Ahurā*, in Y. 51, 18, "That give me Ahura"; *yehyā mōi ashāt hacā*, in Y. 51, 22, "Whose (best gift) is for me." If *vē* refers to Ahura so frequently in other portions of this same chapter, it probably refers to him here.]

Taking a glance at Asha as genitive while used of the personal concept, we come at once upon *yavaṭ^{*}isāi tavācā avat khsdī aēshē ashahyā* in Y. 28, 4. Here *ashahyā* may possibly be rhetorically personified (as it is in the remarkable line next following in Y. 28, 5, "In the desire for Asha, as much as I can and have power so much will I announce the *ashī*'s (see line *b*) rewards of Mazda Ahura, since I know them (*vīduš*)"; this possibly indicates personification, I should say, but only possibly and that rhetorically; the real force of the words is seen through this personification if it were intended; he wishes for holiness because he knows (*vīduš*) the rewards, and so he will proclaim or teach them to others because he knows them himself. I recall what is also noticed elsewhere, that "to learn (to wish for Asha)" is not so probable as "to proclaim or teach the desire for Asha; this in view of the fact that he already knew (*vīduš*) the essential

truth of the matter. In Y. 30, 10, a *hushitois* v. m. *mazdāi ashahyā* means, "In the good abode of v. m., and *ashā*," the latter word being in the genitive and expressing the personal concept.

In Y. 31, 1: *ashahyā gaēthāo vīmerēñcaitē* means, "Are destroying the settlements of Asha," the latter word being in the genitive, and the personification being rhetorical; "The farms of the holy community" might pass as a rendering were it not that the *gaēthā's* were perhaps as much the housed-community itself as the farms. In Y. 31, 6 the *māthrem yim haurvatātō ashahyā ameretātascā* mean the "holy text of (i. e. sacred to) II., to Asha, and to Ameretatāt," the word being in the genitive and expressing the personal concept (all the personifications except Aramnaiti are here grouped). [We should hesitate before deciding that *haithīm* (= *-yam* or *'-yem'*) *ashahyā dīmīm* in Y. 31, 8 means "the ordainer of Asha," the latter word expressing the personal(?) concept; yet see in the preceding line the "father of the good mind seized with the eye"; if, as is more probable, the regulator of the congregation (*ashā*) is meant, then the "God among the actions of the people" is meant in the following words.]

In Y. 32, 13: *yē īš pāt dar(e)sāt ashahyā*, "Who holds them from the sight of Asha" is certainly a personification in view of the "abode of the worst mind" in line *a*; but the rhetorical personification cannot conceal the interior meaning, cp. Y. 28, 5 treated elsewhere, "O Asha shall I see thee?" but I hardly think that "holding them from the sight of the congregation" was distinctly meant.

In Y. 44, 3: *kasnā . . . patā ashahyā*, "who is the father of Asha," personifies the concept of natural law (the grammatical form being that of the genitive).

In Y. 44, 13: *noīš ashahyā ādivyeñtī hacēmnā*, "The associates of Asha do not enlighten them," personifies the concept, especially in view of the "questions asked of Vohumanah" in the next line.

In Y. 47, 2: *patā ashahyā*, "father of Asha," personifies the concept. In Y. 53, 3: *vanhēuš paityāstēm manānhō ashahyā mazdāoscā*, "The devoted servant of the Good Mind, of Asha and of Mazda," personifies the two first concepts as well as the last.

To take a view of our word as in the ablative.

In Y. 28, 2, *āyaptā ashāt hacā*, "The prizes acquired in accordance with (or from) *ashā*," would not come under the head even

of a rhetorical personification, were it not for the foregoing line *a*, which casts a faint dramatic light upon line *c*; the *vdo* = *vos* might include *ashā* as 'approached' and 'from him the prizes were to be obtained.' If we could render distinctly "from Asha" personification becomes somewhat more decided, but on the whole, the concept of the Law is obviously the more immediate idea to be derived from the passage.

So in Y. 32, 4, *nasyaṇtō ashādatō*, "perishing, or going astray, from *ashā* as from the holy law" is only dimly personified, if at all; see "from the understanding (or wisdom) of Ahura Mazda"; notice 'understanding' which is here in equipoise with *ashā* (as one would think).

But in Y. 32, 12: *yāiš grēhmā ashāt var(a)tā*, "By whom Grēhma has been chosen above Asha," we have the concept of the personification in a very strong relief; yet it is by no means the dull personification of the later Avesta; the Gāthic personification is never such, the thoughts of the 'Law' throng within the concept of the personality.

In Y. 49, 2: *ashāt rāreshō*, "receiving (or "giving") great harm from Asha," personifies the latter.

For *ashā* as locative see Y. 32, 6: *thvahnī vē, mazdā, kshathrōi ashaēcā sēnghō vīdām*; but we can see no particular personification in the place; the rhetorical form is the incorporation; "In thy kingdom indeed (*vē* for *vai*?), O Mazda, and in the holy State, the congregation (*ashaēcā*), I will plant the doctrines (see below on "Asha as the community").

It will be seen that an invocation or appeal directed to Asha as a separately personified entity is not often absolutely certain when closely linked with Mazda; the original inherent force of the word as expressing the regularity of the law was very significant to an Iranian and still vital at the time of the Gāthas, so that it was clearly impossible to exclude it in such a connection from being more or less distinctly or feebly understood in every occurrence of the word as mentioned within the limits of these original hymns.

The Holy Order in the law or ritual as a venerated force was in fact the one power which kept everything together in the heroic little State. It seems to have been not only the guide but the very body of the state-idea, or at the least its actuating energy. The philosophically so inferior idea of mere personality

can hardly hold its own to such a degree as to suppress the actual meaning of the name, and yet this idea of personification certainly exists beyond all doubt as the thought at times intended by the composer to be conveyed in the expressions of which he made use, and this foreshadowed the later degenerated days when the concept of the Archangel or Sub-deity at last entirely or almost entirely obscured the earlier sublime idea of the "pervading rhythm of regularity."

The concept of a personal subject, although almost moved upon its pedestal by the influence of the very thoughts which it personifies, is there, and to some expositors it may suggest itself as being very frequently indeed the first and more immediate idea intended by the composer in the words of which he makes use. One important peculiarity is to be noted throughout; it is this: strong and distinct as the use of the word may be at times to designate the personal Archangel, yet like the Indian *ṛta* to which it corresponds, it stands always in the neuter. That is to say, we are not only warranted but constrained to regard it as in that form, for we have clear instances of the nominative as *Ashem*. This adds another not unimportant item to the many which help to build up the mental structure of gâthic doctrine; and affords us one more datum towards our recognition of its intellectual solidity and depth.

The Archangel's name never could have been uttered by an enlightened member of the gâthic State without the possibility that the internal abstract sense of it may have rested upon his mind. And it was as impossible for him as for us to forget that the reason why Asha was great and adorable was that he was the representative of the interior and universal Law.

APPENDIX.

Asha as the Congregation.

Incorporation in a collection of units is not indeed personification, but when the idea conveyed in such a term as *ashâ* becomes figuratively incarnate (*astvat*) in a unified plurality as in a community, the concepts approach closely that more vague rhetorical hypostatization which so often appears in our common historical diction.

We speak for instance of the Democracy, of the Confederacy, of the Republic, or of the Church, our verbal forms resting in the

singular number. It seems to me therefore to be far from alien to a treatise on Asha as the person to add some discussion on Asha as the unified mass of the people pervaded by the precepts and guaranties of the Law.

That the word *ashem* which with its adjective meant the embodied law at Y. 43, 16, carries with it at times the same full meaning of incorporation in the Gáthas even without any more closely defining terms is acknowledged, I believe, by all who have written immediately or indirectly under the influence of Roth. There is, however, often not so very much in this latent allusion to the holy people. The truth is that, as I have already remarked, the several divisions of thought which exist in the concept are closely associated together as much so as the harmonising chords in music, or the nerves which conduct the forces of sensation and motion from the centre of the nervous system to the extremities of the body. But the presence of this idea of the Church in these connecting links is often very faint.

The idea of the Congregation, for instance, might even be regarded as present in a remotely implied suggestion in such a place as Y. 28, 1: *ahyā yāsā . . . ashā vīspēng syaothmā*, "I pray for all deeds (done) with Asha"; but its presence here would be excessively pallid, and far in the background.

Wherever individual human action is presupposed in connection with Asha as The Law, there of course that action might be regarded as pertaining (if only in a very limited degree) to the community of which the obedient individual is a member. And this may indeed come faintly into view as an after-thought together with other vaguely related ideas at frequent intervals; but such diluted representations of the concept of the Congregation we do not desire to study at this moment, if at all. The composer, in Y. 28, 1, as I may repeat without hesitation (and speaking practically), did not intend to be understood as praying that all actions might be done in harmony with the Congregation, or—to borrow our word again from Christianity—in common with the Church (though of course as a matter of exact inference, correct actions would necessarily be fulfilled in coöperation with the ideal Church), nor were the "attained prizes," the *āyaptā* in Y. 28, 2, intended to be mentioned as earned in community with the same "holy body" (*ashāt hacā*); nor had the composer ever heard of such a thing as praise and worship directed toward the Congregation (*ashā*) as its object (see Y. 28, 3); nor is it at all prob-

able that he intended to say, in Y. 28, 4, "So long as I have the power I will either learn (or teach) to wish for the Congregation (*ashā*, so preferring), or in the wish for it."

And it seems equally absurd to suppose him to exclaim in Y. 28, 5, "O congregation, when shall I (shall I ever) see thee," unless it was very obvious from the context that he was himself personally at the moment of composing the strophe absent in a distant and solitary exile. So the *ashāddō* which Ahura was besought to send (supposing that we have a compositum here) were not intended to be represented as the immediate gifts of the congregation (in Y. 28, 6); nor was the congregation apostrophised in Y. 28, 7, and asked to bestow on *ashī*, that is to say a "sacred reward," the congregation being at the time the very last source of recompense to which the composer at that moment desired to apply; so, as already shown (see above on Asha as the Person), *ashā vahishta* was not all the Congregation in Y. 28, 8; nor was the Community the audience which the priestly prophet feared to "disturb with his prayers" in Y. 28, 9; nor does Ahura derive knowledge (as in Y. 28, 10) from enlightenment produced by his People; but in the culminating and final strophe of this same chapter, so full of other ideas, in Y. 28, 11 we may fairly claim that *ashā* represents the embodiment of the idea of the Law in its various shades of meaning, and that this embodiment could only be its incarnation (so to speak) in the holy Community, for it is this which the princely priest, the Saoshyant, is "set to protect." (Could we have a more fitting illustration of a sudden change in the use and application of the word than this?)

No human being could be said to be "set for the protection" of the attribute of God; nor would it be at all critical to accept too readily such a view as the "protection of the law" in the modern sense of the words; that is to say, standing by the constitution. It is better to render, "I who am set to protect Asha," in the same sense in which Asha was said to be *astvaṭ* or "clothed with body" at Y. 43, 16; that is to say, it is far simpler to say, "I who am set to guard over the Church."

Here, then, in the entire section Y. 28, there is but one occurrence of *ashā* in the sense of the Congregation, but that one is unmistakable. The People however must have been understood only in the sense of the Holy People, the Church. That *ashā* could have been meant to represent the People in such a compact sense (for instance) as that anything but 'good' could have been

said of it, *ashā*, and so intended by the composer, is quite impossible here. With all the approximately sublime allusions in the immediate context, *ashā* could only represent the holy race in the light of a redoubled sanctity, and quite as well defined, as for example, the "holiness of Israel" (see First Half, p. 31).

It could mean nothing else but the "chosen nation," as the living body vivified by the great attribute and guided by its formulated law. Nor are we at liberty to take *ashā* as a term used in an indifferent tone in the Gāthas any more than in an adverse sense, that is to say, not as the People, as if in a wholly secular allusion, though such an allusion may be without any element of indignity. Such a supposition could only be harboured by one who lost sight of the entire motion of events in the juncture, unintentionally, or (as one might say) unconsciously, depicted, in these often fierce and vivid hymns. It is rarely enough, as we have just seen, that *ashā* means the Congregation, even in a good sense; but in the mild vortex of recurring expressions all uttered with more or less passionate vocatives, or with appeals in the first person and to the second person, any such commonplace use of the word is simply out of the question. If *ashā* were the Church, it was the Church as in a state of crisis which was chronic at the time, for its existence in the gāthic scene was often evidently at stake. See even at Y. 28, 6, where in this more than usually meditative section we read of the "overcoming the torments of the tormentor," *yā daibishvatō dvaṣṣhāo taurvayāmd*, that is to say, the hostile measures of the enemy. And the more spiritual view of *ashā* for which we make our claim was kept alive by the necessary self-sacrifices of an unrestful age.

Moreover let us not forget that such piety as they possessed grew up out of the services of the ritual and before the altars. The only real object lesson which the people had as to the existence of *ashā* as the special law was first the personality of contemporary priesthood, their customs and their state, and secondly, the impressions received from the gathering of the masses of the people on the great feast days or on the days of prayerful humiliation, when they "came from near and from afar." Here were human beings on whom the ceremonies had actually produced their effect, who had caught the spirit of worship, and had long depended on a system of more or less definitively digested statutes as the basis of their religious, social, and commercial intercourse.

Asha as the Divine Attribute might not have been, and very probably would not have been, dreamt-of by the then present generation, if it had not been for the hereditary Church in which the idea of sanctity had been fostered in ceremonies for centuries; and this enhances the importance of the concept *ashā* as the Holy Community.

As I have necessarily dwelt at some length on this most pregnant theme, I will now curtail the detailed discussions which are still so greatly needed for each of the passages which bear upon this particular subject, and in place of fuller exegesis indicate the passages for the most part merely by reference, with a few added words. They were each, as is known, discussed by me some twelve years ago in the XXXIst vol. of the *Sacred Books of the East* and later extensively treated with the Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian texts in my *Five Zarathushtrian Gāthas*, in 1892-94. In this last book all the various translations of the terms (worth reporting) are afforded by me in the notes to the verbatim renderings, and in the Commentary (these sections in all) comprising some 659 pages.¹

The passages in which I recognize Asha as expressing the concept of the People who were subject to the Law are the following:

In Y. 31, 8: *aṭ thvā mēñhī p(a)ourvīm* (= *-vyam* or *-vyem*). . . *haithīm* (= *-yem*) *ashahyā dāmīm* . . ., the "true establisher of Asha" must refer to the holy state or to the elaborated law objectively instituted and kept in operation by the functionaries of state and church. Y. 32, 4, "straying away from Asha" suggests the Flock from which the sinner strays as well as the Shepherd who would be the Guardian Angel; and one idea has about as much a claim as the other to priority, but see elsewhere.

In Y. 32, 6, already alluded to, the locative case (*ashaēcā* following *kḥshathrōi*) as the grammatical form, of itself suggests *ashā* as the Community within which the doctrinal system was

¹ As to the third volume, the Vth part of this (so extended) work, "A Dictionary of the Gāthic language of the Zend Avesta," I would say that I have met with an unfortunate delay from the illness of my typesetter in Germany, a person who worked with distinguished skill and unusual economy. A good part of the first section of this completing volume (that touching the words beginning with vowels, is, however, printed, or in type, and I hope to issue it before October, unless indeed the compositor referred to has a large amount of work accumulated during his enforced inaction.

established. But in Y. 32, 9 (as to which see above) the composer did not "cry to the congregation," as there could be no question of appeal to them at the time in the matter of any grievance; so in Y. 33, 3: *aṭ hvō ashahyā aīhaṭ vaīhēuš gā vāstrē manaiñhō*, I do not think that the "pastures of the People" looks more original than those of *Asha* as the Archangel Guardian of the sanctified territory.

On Y. 34, 5 I pause for a moment's discussion. *kaṭ vē khshathrem ?kē īstīš syaothnāiš, mazdā, yathā vāo ahmē ashā vohū manaiñhā*, "What is your royal power; what your possession that I may . . . be your own (so I prefer) in my actions with *asha* and *vohumanah*." These last two expressions may well mean, in harmony with the holy Community and with the individual good-minded saint, unless indeed this latter might seem too closely definitive or hair-splitting, so to say. *Vohumanah*, however, most frequently expresses the individual believer, seldom if ever the Community, which is reserved for *ashā*, but it is obvious that "with holy exactness" *ashā*, and "with a good intention," at once arises in the mind of a reader familiar with the original meaning of the words. Let it be noted in passing here that the word *syaothnāiš*, "through actions," cannot at all be limited at this place (or in fact elsewhere) to the idea of ceremonies, if indeed it can be applied to them; while the "help of the poor" shows the robust moral vigour intended to reside in the expressions throughout (recall also the ideas in the Vedic equivalent *cyautna*); they hardly group about the sacrifice. It is, however, necessary to add that the poor here referred to might possibly include the entire people in their then temporarily depressed condition (cp. Y. 46, 2), in which case this word would be explanatory or rather used in apposition; yet the force of the expression is not lost; even if it were applied to the Community it is still striking.

Y. 34, 10 also needs a few additional lines.

With one of those truly astonishing transitions to which I have more than once alluded in introducing this subject, and which could only have been possible in view of private explanations,¹ the composer suddenly passes from the higher concepts in Y. 34, 10, to the quite startling statement that *dramaīti*—and we cannot take the word, here at least, as a masculine qualifying Ahura—"is

¹ See First Half, pp. 32 ff.

the *dāmim* . . . *haithyām ashahyā*," an epithet applied especially to Ahura in Y. 31, 7. And this is said of an Amesha who in the order of mention, at least, is inferior to Asha as a sub-god.

Here, then, we seem quite obliged to fall back upon a modification of exegesis rendering "confirmer" rather than "establisher" or "creator" of *ashā*, of course as the People.

At Y. 43, 1, *ashā* as "supported" (*ashem dēredyāi*) could only be the Holy Community, or the Law, as especially in charge of the political-religious (i. e. ecclesiastical) functionaries.

So perhaps at Y. 46, 3 : *aiñhēuš dārethrāi frō ashahyā reñtē*, to render for the "support of the life of the people" (*ashā*) is better than "for the support of the people (*aiñhēuš*) of Asha."

So at Y. 46, 7 : *yayāo syaothnāiš ashem thraoštā ahurā*, "By whose deeds *ashā* has been supported" (nurtured or saved) can only refer to the Holy People.

So at Y. 46, 10, an *ashi* to *ashā* must mean "a reward to the People." So in Y. 46, 15 : *tāiš yāš syaothnāiš ashem khshmai-byā dādvē* (so correcting), "By these your deeds ye support *ashā*"; it is the holy State, *ashā*, which is supported or established.

So at Y. 51, 8 : *uštā yē ashem dādrē*, "*uštā* (beatitude) to him who has established *ashā*," *ashā* is again established or supported, and therefore means the Holy People.

So at Y. 51 13 : *hvāiš syaothnāiš hizvasā ashahyā nāsvāo pathō*, the "paths of *ashā*" suggest those where the holy people walk, quite as directly; but not more directly than it suggests the paths of the Archangel.

So in Y. 51, 15, reading *ashāicā*, "rewards are assigned to the holy people."

(At Y. 53, 3 : *vanhēuš paityāstēm manānhō ashahyā mazdāoscā*, we should think at the first glance that *ashā* is again "supported," and therefore means the holy people; or at least that their priesthood were intended, but see *mazdāoscā*; the word *paityāstēm* (so reading) must mean 'servant.')

Wherever the action expressed is of such a nature as to suggest a sense for *ashā* which associates the idea with reciprocity, there at once the Community is at least suggested, if it is not indeed always intended by the composer as the immediate idea which he wishes to convey.

And even where the rhetorical form of the expression necessitates our classifying the passage as one immediately alluding to

Asha as the Person, a strong and not a weak *secondary* impression is occasionally made upon us in which the Community is the central idea. So in Y. 30, 5 : *ashem (varatā) mainyuš spēñ-istō . . . yaçcā khshnaoshen ahurem haithyāiš syaothnāiš fraoret mazdām*, *ashā* is undoubtedly "the principle of right which the best spirit chooses"; but this is followed by a most unusual occurrence for the succinct Gāthas, that is to say, the *ashem* seems actually explained in the following line; the words are, "And those who content Ahura piously with true deeds."

And in Y. 30, 8 : *yōi ashāi daden zastayō . . .*, "Who deliver the Druj (or Druk), the demon (of the foe), into the two hands of Asha," of course the idea of the Archangel is first intended to be conveyed, but like the Athene of the Greek state he evidently represents the victorious forces of the Holy People.

So in Y. 31, 1, after the idea of the Archangel in the words "the settlements of Asha," the mind reverts at once to the settlements of the Nation.

So at Y. 32, 12, while the figurative representation of the person is rendered certain by the personal *Grēhmā* in the antithesis, we cannot shut out the view which recalls to us a choice of the enemy over the fatherland.

And so at Y. 32, 13, "to be held afar from the sight of Asha" positively suggests the Archangel in beatific vision (see above), but how natural it is for us to say that the penalty also consisted, and to no slight degree, in being held afar from the sight of the Congregation, excommunicated, as it were. So in Y. 34, 2, "the soul united with the Archangel" is also united with his people. In Y. 44, 9, "dwelling with Asha" first suggests the Person, but secondarily the saints. In Y. 44, 13, the "companions of Asha the Archangel" are likewise those of the Holy Church. In Y. 46, 16, "Āramati goes hand in hand with Asha" as the Angel of light and truth, and likewise with his Church." In Y. 47, 2, Ahura was first intended as the father of his Angel Asha, elsewhere also called his son, but he was also the father of the Archangel's people, the father of the Iranian Israel.

So in Y. 48, 1, "If he with *ashā* shall smite the Druj," the first suggested idea is that of thoroughness rather than that of the Angel; the secondary, that of his efficient saints, "When he with the (hosts of the) Church shall conquer the demon of the foe"; yet see elsewhere.

So in Y. 49, 2, "Receiving (or effecting) harm from Asha" first recalls the Person, but secondarily the thought of the Iranian Israel destroying its adversary, immediately arises. So in Y. 51, 11: *kē vā ashā āfraštā*, "Or who has questioned with *ashā*?" the Person is our first thought, but the consulting priesthood of the Church is our next.¹

¹ I should mention that I use the simplest possible transliteration here, having never taken much interest in that useful matter; in my Dictionary I dispense with it altogether for the Avesta language, using the Zend types.

Economics of primitive religion.—By WASHBURN HOPKINS,
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THERE hung for many years in the Boston State-house, and perhaps hangs still, a monster codfish, a token of the main industry hereabouts. It was placed there with respect, one might almost say with devotion, and it is not too much to hazard that, had our Puritan forefathers been less advanced theologically, they would have considered this effigy, and its original, to be in very truth worthy of devout regard and trust. Had they been on a low plane of civilization this trust would have been proximate to worship.

This State-house cod is then a symbol of more than it was carved to figure. It is in fact emblematic of an early principle of religion, utilitarianism, the principle that often underlies the adoration both of the benevolent and malevolent. This, of course, is by no means the only god-creative principle, but it is an important one and one generally recognized—recognized even as early as the *Mahābhārata* in the words: "Men worship Īśa the destroyer because they fear him, Viṣṇu the preserver, because they hope from him, but who worships Brahman the creator? His work is done." Not a mere phrase, for in India to-day there are thousands of temples to Īśa and Viṣṇu, but only two to Brahman.

To linger, however, upon this principle of utilitarianism is not my purpose. It is, indeed, only my starting point, for to admit this cause of worship at once leads us farther. If we glance at the rich collection of divinities in a settled tribe or nation, such as those of Greece or India, we shall see that in any given locality the greatest usefulness and potency is ascribed to the local god. In a low state of savagery or barbarism local gods are universally the most important, and even in a high state of civilization they still form the undercurrent of popular divinity. Again, a great city makes great its local deity even at the cost of some anterior great deity, originally worshipped by city and country alike. But a villager, too, worships at his village shrine alone, and his real god is the god of that shrine. When the village is influenced by a wider theosophy the temple may belong to some universal god, as is to-day the case with that of Īśa, but such a shrine

does not faithfully represent the loftier conception to the lowly villager. He cannot see beyond his ken, and so he is continually reducing the great god to the size of his own small conception. Moreover, although a great god may be duly represented thus, if there is at the same time another shrine of a local deity, that local god will be or become paramount. Even more must this magnitude of the little have been operative before the higher conception became possible.

The environment which I have tacitly assumed is that of a settled people. Now let us change the economic conditions and ask ourselves what will, and must, have been the gods which obtained whenever a primitive people became migratory. It is evident that a migratory people can have no constant local gods. There is no perpetually familiar mountain or stream whose deity they dread. They may worship the sun, but they cannot worship him in a local form; they may worship the souls of the departed, but they cannot pay especial reverence to the man-god of one shrine.

What, then, are the gods that a wandering people can worship throughout their whole migratory state? Simply those gods which they have always with them. And what are these? Horace says *cælum non animum*, but if we should interpret the *cælum* very literally the poet's Greek original were nearer the truth, *τόπον οὐ τόπον*; man changes his abode, his mind remains the same, and the sky-god is not changed. The sky-god, not local but always with them, they will continue to worship wherever they go. This is not true of earth, for earth is not regarded by primitive people as one and the same, since a different locality implies a different divinity; there is a local mountain which is a separate god, etc.

Fire, on the other hand, though it often goes out, still remains the same magic fire, "the ever new god," as the Vedic poets call it; and it will continue to receive its antique worship, especially when, as may have been the case with the forefathers of the Romans, it is guarded and not allowed to become extinct.

But there is one more class of gods, the troop of spirits of the dead, that remains with a migrating people. When a people settle down they particularize in exact proportion as they localize the cult. This man's spirit, they say, resides here on the very spot where he lived. Here, then, we worship him and he will protect us here. The result is the innumerable shrines which we find raised, for example, in India to-day, to the local Birs or man-gods of the places where these heroes used to live. But so long

as the children's children roam about, they cannot localize nor particularize. Each family ghost soon becomes merged in one shadowy host of ghosts, travelling with the human tribe, worshipped by them in general. Only now and then the spirit of some special hero is worshipped by more than his own family; then he becomes a tribal god.

Now all other classes of gods are virtually enshrined in local material. Animal gods depend on the environment for their very existence. Totems are possible only where the worshippers are fairly stationary. No one continues to revere a tiger or an eagle who has no idea what these animals look like, and no one claims descent, if he can help it, from a nonentity. Gods of the imagination—genii, devils of various sorts, and nymphs—lose their power in losing their habitation. As the dryads perish with the removal of their tree, so when the site is left, the special devil or fairy, potent in its local habitation, becomes vague and eventually perishes from the mind. The belief in such beings may be unimpaired, but the particular object of the cult is variable, so that no one individual demon, genius, or other supernatural being can permanently receive worship from the migratory people. The same is true of a sub-division of these gods of fancy, the disease-gods. No one worships the cholera or small-pox, as do millions in India to-day, who is no longer afraid of it. Diseases change with environment, and their malevolent gods are left behind by travellers.

Thus far I have considered the hypothetical case of any migratory nation. Before I take up a concrete instance let me point out one more fact. If such a people were once settled and afterwards wandered for centuries, all traces of what used to be their local gods will have vanished. They, too, will hold as gods only those divinities which they have with them always, sky, and ancestral ghosts, and fire. If they wander in the tropics they will doubtless, even at the start, have in addition to these the sun-god, and if they continue to wander there they may retain this god. But if they start in the north they are more likely to regard the sun as at best a dim cloudy deity or as merely the eye of the sky-god. They will not worship him as a fiery, omnipotent, tyrant god till they reach the proper environment. So a storm-god may accompany one or more branches of a dividing people while they move in a circumscribed area; but just as soon as one branch settles down amid a different environment this storm-god will yield his power and name to some new local product. In general,

then, sky, with perhaps such celestial phenomena as sun, moon, and stars (but these latter are more dependent on circumstances), and fire, and the manes will be the oldest, the most venerable gods that a migratory people can remember; unless, indeed, they bear with them some effigy or memorial of another deity which tends to perpetuate artificially what would otherwise pass from memory.

Now let us take in illustration a concrete example. If these general statements, *a priori* as they are, yet seem probable, what gods should we expect to find as the oldest among the Indo-Europeans—oldest, that is to say, from the point of view which we must perforce take, the view afforded by linguistic and literary evidence. This oldest evidence represents merely a phase of development, but it appears to me fully to support the interpretation I have made. What god is worshipped under the same name by more than two of the Indo-European nations? Only the sky-god, Dyāuspitar, Zeuspater, Jupiter. Under another name the sky is worshipped as Varuṇa, Ouranos. Both in India and in Greece this god appears as the most venerable of all gods of phenomena. But what other gods are worshipped by several of these severed nations? The Fathers, manes, *pitaras*, not under a particular name but as a host, exactly as we should have anticipated. And lastly we have the fire-cult practiced in India, Persia, Greece, and Italy as far back as records go. But because the (later) twofold Indo-Iranians lived long together, we find also in India's oldest pantheon, as in Persia's, a *soma-hatoma* cult and a Mitra-Mithra sun-cult not found among other nations. So too we find the same storm-god in Slavic and Vedic form, but not elsewhere.

Here we have, as I am convinced, the true explanation of an apparently mysterious fact, a fact that has led observers astray and is apt to do so still. I will not recall to criticize the older hypotheses of an original monotheism among the Indo-Europeans. These theories were of their time, and represented a reasonable stage of mental accomplishment in the interpretation of religious phenomena. The great Sanskrit scholars of an earlier generation were profoundly impressed by the fact that the sky-god held the highest and apparently oldest place; that he was the most venerable deity of the Indo-Europeans; and that some of the Vedic hymns addressed to him show an almost monotheistic conception, certainly a much higher conception of godhead than attaches to any other god of the Vedic age. Hence they naturally argued a

primeval monotheism. And it is true that the figure of the supreme Zeus and the majestic Varuna are such as to suggest this consequence. Even a latter-day scholar, Oldenberg, is so impressed with the lofty character of the ancient sky-god of India that he wishes to derive it from the Semites, as something incompatible with the grossness of Vedic polytheism.

These gods represent, however, as I have shown, not anything original, but only what was oldest in the migratory life of their worshippers. For all the Indo-Europeans were migrating for centuries; that is to say they shifted from place to place, leaving behind what was local, carrying forward only those divinities which were really ubiquitous and were felt to be always identical.

The sky-god is physically lofty, and does not easily lend himself to the hocus-pocus of demonolatriy. If we add to this the fact that to the Vedic Aryans he was, as has been explained, the object of their oldest remembered worship, we can easily understand why his figure stands out so large in the background of the pantheon. We can also understand why the figure fades and dwindles as the Aryan invaders exchange the tending of herds for agriculture, as they move more and more slowly from Cabul to Delhi (to use modern names), and become permanent settlers. For with the permanent home rises the local god, Indra the war-god, true image of the monsoon-fury; Qiva, the combination of a Vedic storm-god and a local aboriginal disease-god. So with all the gods potent at a later date. Every one is local, not one is inherited. Even Agni, the fire-god, inwrought as he is into every sacrifice, and having thus a firmer hold than had most of his peers, becomes a mere godkin, the servant of the great local gods who arise in settled communities. These latter appear even in the Veda itself, the first insignificant 'god of the field,' and such prototypes of the Bhairabas and Vitthalas (modern Vitthobas) of to-day, as at Pandharpur in the Deccan.

The Veda thus presents us with at least three strata of divinities; the newest local gods, already potent, and destined in the end to be most powerful; the intermediate gods, derived from the last protracted local settlements and not yet forgotten, Soma, and Trita, and perhaps the storm-god Parjanya; and the still older gods which the Aryans revered even before their separation, which alone they could have preserved (as they had no images) through all changes of time and place, sky-god, fire, and ghosts. The venerable position, then, of the sky-god depends on the economic position of the people who worshipped him as the god

they always had with them. He naturally and inevitably superseded, in the grandeur of his history as well as in the loftiness of his physical attributes, all the merely local deities which the nation found on its route, adopted, and abandoned again, as they successively passed into, through, and out of their spheres of divine influence. It was only when the Aryans remained permanently stationary that they could adopt a permanent local god. As soon as they did so, this god, as is always the case, began to gain ascendancy over the sky-god and over Agni, and finally outstripped them both in the race for popularity, only to be in turn dethroned as the people passed again into a new environment. But in this and in all subsequent moves the old gods were no longer obnoxious to the chances of fickle piety, for literature now had them comparatively safe. Even with this safeguard, however, Varuṇa becomes before very long a mere god of waters, and Dyāus like Zeus is degraded to a Hermes-like thief.

On one aspect of the case I have scarcely touched. To become settled is to be agricultural. Now the settled condition of agriculturists raises a great crop of local earthly divinities. The peoples of the Rig-Veda are in a transition state, represented now as tending and raping flocks, now as reaping fields; at one time as still in transit across the Puṇjāb, at another as permanently located. In this shifting of economic conditions there is reason to anticipate exactly what we find at this epoch. The figures of the ancient sky-god and fire-god are still held in greatest reverence, though already decadent in popularity. But what is most important is that the older gods are no longer unique in being historical gods. For the people are at least so thoroughly settled that they regard the local gods also as historical. In other words, the latter have already begun to become such inherited divinities as Dyāus and Agni, and in less degree Trita and Soma. But at the same time they are local, the reflex of the very conditions in which the worshipper lives, vivid personalities, near and real. When this happens, more important than the upper god becomes the god that holds life and death in his hands as the monsoon comes or, later, as the season of disease begins to slay. The god that answers to the environment, the local god, first Indra, then Īśa, becomes most important. And as Īśa rises, the sky-god falls, for the Aryans never again migrated beyond the reach of the local conditions into which they had now entered, descending as they did from healthy uplands to a land of monsoon and fever.

The psychology of the Vedanta and Sankhya philosophies.—

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THE Vedanta and Sankhya systems of philosophy are interesting as uniting, in each case, a very sharp and profound psychological insight with the most fantastic theories in regard to the practical bearing of this insight. This insight standing by itself, with no inhibiting ideas suggested by common sense, is taken to be the key that unlocks all the mysteries of the universe, and opens a way to final emancipation.

The insight upon which the Vedanta system rests is the subjective character of all experience. The Vedantist saw as clearly as Kant or Fichte, that the only world which exists for us is the creation of the productive imagination. This view is presented with absolute clearness. The entire universe is affirmed to be the work of Maya. It is pure illusion. It has no other substance than ignorance. This illusion we are told has two stages. It is first enveloping and then it is projected. These two forms of illusion are illustrated by this figure: A man sees a rope and thinks that it looks like a serpent. His next thought is that it is a serpent.¹ Thus do we create a world by the power of our imagination; then we project it and conceive it to be a world existing independently of our thought.

This unquestionably true view of the world is, as I have already intimated, carried by the Vedantist into its most extreme logical results. If all my experiences are subjective, if I stand in relation only with my own thoughts and feelings, and if the only world that I know anything about is made up of these, what right have I to assume the existence of any other world? What right have I to assume the existence of either things or persons outside myself? Thus the Vedantist passes beyond idealism and

¹ Ballantyne's *Vedanta Lecture (Vedanta Sāra)*, § 20. As the object is to reach the views of these schools of thought, no difference is made in any of the references between what is said by an author and what is said by the native commentators whose words are associated with his in the translations.

comes to rest, theoretically at least, in solipsism, or the doctrine that the individual self, alone, is.

It is an interesting question as to the manner in which this insight was reached. Some maintain that it was based upon a misunderstanding of the Upanishads, to which Çankara gave the weight of his authority. Deussen, however, insists that the interpretation of Çankara is the true one, and claims that seventy-five per cent. of living Vedantists agree with him.¹ In this case it is not easy to say how the view was reached. We can see, however, how it is defended; and from this we may conjecture, if we will not forget that it is merely conjecture, what may have been at least one of the considerations that suggested it.

In the defense and illustration of this doctrine, reference is very freely made to the phenomena of dreams. A very curious and interesting treatise, in regard to the date of which I know nothing, was translated for the *Pandit* and runs through many numbers of that journal.² It is the only clear and consistent defense of solipsism that I have ever seen; consistent except in this, that the writer is striving to convince the reader, whereas according to his view only one of them exists. In this treatise the phenomena of dreams figure very prominently. The objector is represented as saying that if he alone exists, he ought to be the creator of all things. So you are, urges the author, if you are the one only, just as you are creator of all the objects of your dream. Again, the objector is represented as insisting that if there were but one being in the universe, when any one person is emancipated, all persons should be. So they are, replies the author, just as when you wake from a dream all the persons of whom you have dreamed cease to be.³ So far as solipsism rests upon the phenomena of dreams, it occupies a position very interesting from a logical point of view. It involves a recognition of the parsimony of nature, even greater than that shown by Newton. If in the dream the soul may create a world for itself filled with persons and things, merely by the power of the constructive imagination, what need and what right have we to seek for any different source of any other world?

¹ *Elements of Metaphysics* (English translation), p. 324.

² *Vidvan-Mano-Ranjini*, by Râma Tîrtha, begun in the *Pandit* (first series), vol. vi. p. 232.

³ *Pandit*, vii. 127, viii. 130, etc.

It is obvious that this view of the world suggests a method of escaping from it. One has merely to give up altogether one's belief in the reality of outside things and put a stop to the work of the imagination, and the soul remains in the bliss of empty solitude.

In the much misunderstood system of the Sankhya we have an extremely interesting step in advance. It starts, substantially, from the position reached by the Vedanta, but brings to bear upon this a psychological insight even sharper than that which is found in that system. The most obvious difference is, that in the Sankhya, Intellect takes the place which is filled by Illusion or Ignorance in the Vedanta. To it the substance of the world is Intellect. This does not mean that we find in the world marks of intelligence; but simply that Intellect is the *causa materialis* of the world, just as Illusion is the *causa materialis* of the world in the Vedanta. Thus the one system starts from a position as idealistic as that of the other.

We may here leave wholly out of the account *Prakriti*, which most unfortunately figures as Nature in the English translations. We might call it somewhat awkwardly "The Prior." Professor Garbe calls it the "Grundform" (*Sāṅkhya Philosophie*, 204). We are expressly told that it is posited merely to avoid a *regressus* into the infinite (*Aphorisms of Kapila*, i. 68). The Sankhyans could not conceive of Intellect as existing without some *causa materialis* of its own, so they speak simply of that which was before.

As soon as *Prakriti* takes form as Intellect, it has no existence in any other form. It has nothing more to do with what follows than Chaos has to do with the Cosmos. So, as was just said, we may leave it altogether out of the account, and recognize Intellect as forming the substance of the world. This Intellect concentrates itself into self-consciousness, that is, into the *Me*. This *Me* differentiates itself on the one side into the inner organs of activity and sensation and the "Mind," and on the other side into the elements of the so-called material world, which are, in fact, only projected sensations. We are told distinctly that the eleven organs and the five subtile elements out of which the world was formed are the product of self-consciousness (*Aphorisms of Kapila*, iii. 17). How clearly this subjective character of the world was recognized by the Sankhyans may be seen from a single

instance. A potter, we are told, makes a jar. He makes it out of his own self-consciousness. Why then, it is asked, does it not disappear when he becomes emancipated? The answer is that while on his emancipation there is an end of the modifications of his special intellect, Intellect remains. A certain intellectual continuum or community is thus assumed, very much as in the idealism of Fichte. From another point of view it is said, "Let the Self-consciousness of the *Deity* be the cause why jars and the like continue to exist" (*Aphorisms of Kapila*, i. 63).

Thus far the Sankhya system is as purely idealistic as the Vedanta, though not solipsistic, as it recognizes innumerable individuals.

After having reached this point, the student of the Sankhya is surprised and perhaps bewildered to find, over against the Intellect and the Self, with its thoughts, its feelings, and its will, a something that is called *Purusha* and *Ātman*. These words in the English translation are represented by the word Soul. This substitution, though perhaps not to be avoided, is as unfortunate as that of Nature for *Prakriti*. The two words Nature and Soul, taken together, suggest a thoroughly realistic view of the world, whereas the system, as we have seen, is, at its foundation, idealistic. What sort of 'soul' is that which stands outside of intellect, feeling, and will?

This *Purusha*, we are told in many ways, is simply a beholder. It neither feels nor thinks nor wills. It seems to do them all. It seems to be glad or sorry, to hope or to fear. In point of fact it simply contemplates these emotions and acts. A favorite comparison that the Sankhya writers use to illustrate this relation is that of a crystal vase over which hangs the red flower of the Hibiscus (*Aphorisms of Kapila*, ii. 35, and iv. 22). The color of the flower is reflected from the crystal so that the crystal appears to be red. In fact it is not red, it is absolutely colorless. Another example is that of a king who seems to be carrying on war, while really it is his generals that are carrying on the war (*Aphorisms of Kapila*, ii. 29). This *Purusha* manifests itself by affirming itself over against the body. It speaks of 'my body' (*Aphorisms of Kapila*, vi. 3 and 4). But, it is urged, we speak of the body of a statue, and yet the statue and its body are one. The answer that is given to this objection is not so perfectly to the point as it might be. The writer fails to bring out the real difference that was undoubtedly in his mind, which is, that it is

not the statue that speaks of the statue's body. In the statue itself there is not this line of cleavage. The body of the statue exists for us, not for it. We are told that to speak of the intelligence of Puruṣa is like speaking of the body of a statue, for Puruṣa *is* intelligence. On the other hand, to speak of the mind, that is the complete mental activity of Puruṣa, introduces a foreign element such as we introduce when we speak of its body.

The Puruṣa is evidently the pure consciousness abstracted from all content. We are, for instance, conscious of walking; but the consciousness does not walk. So, to these thinkers, while we are conscious of reasoning, the consciousness does not reason. We are conscious of suffering, but the consciousness does not suffer. The consciousness is only the beholder (*Sāṅkhya Karika*, 19, 20, *et passim*).

The distinction here made is one that is familiar to our modern psychology, though psychologists take different attitudes in regard to it. Self-consciousness—and all consciousness is in a sense self-consciousness—involves two elements, the subject and the inner object. These two elements are sometimes spoken of as the *I* and the *Me*. These two elements are in our modern thought not outwardly or accidentally related. Neither precedes or follows the other; neither can exist apart from the other. Consciousness is a process all parts and stages of which spring into existence at the same moment. There is the fundamental unity, the differentiation into the *I* and the *Me*, and the recognition of the two as one and the same. The *I* recognizes the *Me* as itself, though the two are antithetic to one another. The *I* cannot be conscious of the *I* but only of the *Me*. If the *I* becomes the object of consciousness, it is transformed into the *Me*.

We use the term *I* in other senses. We sometimes mean by it the concrete personality. So far, however, as it represents the element of pure consciousness, it would seem hardly possible to define it in terms different from those applied to *Puruṣa* or *Ātman* by the Sāṅkhyans.

They give us, however, something more than the fact of this resemblance. In the fourth chapter of the Aphorisms of Patañjali we find the question of consciousness directly discussed. In this discussion the double aspect of consciousness is recognized as distinctly as I have just recognized it. As we have seen, the Sāṅkhyans reached recognition of this division in consciousness, but felt obliged to give to each element an independent existence.

Patanjali illustrates and defends this. In this book we read, "The thinking principle is not self-illuminating, since it is perceptible" (xviii.); in a note it is added "A perceptible is known by a percipient, as in the case of a water jar, and so forth." Again we read in reference to *Purusha* or the *Ego*, on the one side, and the thinking principle, or mind, on the other—the *I* and the *Me*: "Attention cannot be directed to both at the same time. It is not possible to behold oneself and another at the same time" (iv. 19). The differentiation in consciousness into the *I* and the *Me* is thus recognized; but because it is fundamental in the system that no element can have more than one attribute, the knower cannot be known.

An objector is represented as urging that self-consciousness may be the result of memory, or, as it is expressed, that one cognition may cognize another, and that thus the necessity of two elements could be avoided. It is replied, "If one cognition could cognize another, then that cognition being itself unintelligent and unable to illuminate another, we must assume a third cognition, and so on" (iv. 20). That is, if my present self-consciousness is the result of memory, then that which is remembered must have been self-conscious. For this must be presupposed a previous moment of self-consciousness, and so on into the infinite.

I do not defend this reasoning. I wish merely to indicate that these writers discussed the phenomena of self-consciousness with as clear an understanding of the problem as we can have to-day, and that they solved it by supposing the consciousness to be made up of two separately existing elements.

The recognition of this objective element in consciousness made it easier perhaps for the Sankhyan to escape the solipsistic view to which the Vedantists were driven.

The Sankhyan system is interesting as occupying a position absolutely unique. It is, in its foundation, idealistic, for, as we have seen, all things consist of intellect; the material world being a development of self-consciousness. If we mean by the soul that which thinks and feels, then for the Sankhyan there is no existence outside of soul. Thus it stands where the Vedanta stands. Yet within the soul it finds both subject and object, the *I* and the *Me*. These, it insists, must be separate entities. Its lines of division are drawn within the sphere recognized by the Vedanta. It accepts the fundamental psychological doctrine of the Vedanta, but out of this it develops something that has been taken

for realism. It is thus a system that sets our terminology at defiance. I have called it idealistic; but it is an idealism that embraces a dualism. There is only Soul, in our ordinary use of the word soul, but it is a soul made up of two entities; and we cannot easily avoid speaking of the half that is emancipated as in a special sense the soul, as in fact the Sankhyans themselves did in the word *Ātman*. From this analysis it will appear how mistaken is the view that considers the idea of the soul as having almost faded out of this system.¹ If, from the fact that Purusha plus Intellect and the rest, corresponds to the Soul of the Vedanta, we call the resultant whole the soul, we have a very concrete significance for the word. If, on the other hand, as we more naturally do, we restrict the term soul to *Purusha*, we have an extremely clear cut and definite significance.

If it is urged that after all *Prakriti* and its products are in a sense material, it must be answered that the word can have no significance in this connection. We use the word 'matter' to express the result of a generalization. The materialist urges that thoughts and feelings are the result of processes such as are going on in the world of things in the midst of which we live. The word brings these subjective elements into relation with innumerable other elements that seem at first sight wholly foreign to them. To the Sankhyan there is no such world. Besides *Purusha* there is nothing that is not developed out of Intellect, through self-consciousness. The word 'matter' would be here as meaningless as a scholastic quiddity.² The forms assumed by *Prakriti* are not merely the causes of thoughts and feelings. They *are* thoughts and feelings. The whole story is that, as we have seen, the Vedantists affirmed that the substantial cause of the world is Ignorance. For the convenience of their reasonings they insisted that this was at once something and nothing. The Sankhyan pointed out the absurdity of this (*Aphorisms*, i. 24), put Intellect in the place of Ignorance, and claimed for it substantiality.

¹ This is implied by Professor Garbe. He affirms that it was only a step from the view of the soul held by the Sankhyans to the denial of its existence by the Buddhists (*Sāṃkhya Philosophie*, 302).

² The reader of the *Aphorisms* must not be misled by the rejection of the view that there is nothing besides thought (i. 42, and elsewhere), for thought here refers to the *quasi* thought of *Purusha*, as is distinctly affirmed in i. 105. It is the reality of the results of *Prakriti* that is insisted on.

It is obvious that a system like the Sankhya could be developed only out of a system idealistic like the Vedanta, though not necessarily solipsistic. This fact corresponds with the conclusion reached by Professor Garbe that, while the Sankhyan view of the world is very ancient, it is yet later than the earliest Upanishads (*Sāṅkhya Philosophie*, 7). The view of the Sankhya system here presented throws light upon the early blending of it with the Vedanta system exhibited by Father Dahlmann in his interesting work on *Nirvana*. As the Sankhya has been generally understood, this community would be very strange if not impossible. It would be a union of Idealism and Realism. Now, however, we see that it is something that might well have been expected. It implies, indeed, that the idea of a multiplicity of 'souls' is not fundamental to the Sankhya; and this is what our analysis would lead us to assume.

With the general aspects of the system I have here nothing to do. I will merely state in conclusion, that emancipation is reached by a separation of Purusha from the Intellect in its various forms—the *I* from the *Me*. It is as if we should separate the north pole from the south. Intellect, including the *Me* with all its content, reverts to that condition called Prakriti, of which it is only a form, while the *Ego*, the pure subject of consciousness, remains wholly without object or content, intelligence but not intelligent; not positively blessed,—for the same cannot both know and feel,—but negatively blessed in the fact that it is free from entanglement with the changeful products of *Prakriti*. Here, as in the Vedanta, salvation consists in freedom from the network of ignorance. That which is, and all along has been, remains, freed from all complication with that, which merely seems.

The Historical Study of Religions in Universities and Colleges.—By MORRIS JASTROW, JR., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Penna.

To those who recognize the importance of the historical study of religions, and who are earnestly interested in encouraging researches which are necessary in this field, it is somewhat depressing to find that the subject has found an entrance into the curriculum of but a very small number of our colleges and universities. So far as I am aware, there are but two institutions, the University of Chicago and Cornell University, which have established chairs for the study of religions, and in neither of these institutions has the subject been accorded the dignity of a special chair. At Chicago it is combined with the Professorship of Ancient History, at Cornell with Christian Ethics. The objection to the former combination is that it imposes upon the occupant too wide a field to be satisfactorily covered by one person, while the association with Christian Ethics imposes a limitation in the choice for future occupants. At Harvard, courses falling within the domain of the history of religions are given regularly by Prof. Everett and Prof. Toy, and for a few years the subject was represented at Yale by Dr. Fairbanks. A number of theological seminaries include this study in their curriculum,¹ and special mention must be made of the example set by the Andover Theological Seminary in making fuller and more adequate provisions for instruction in it than are found elsewhere. But these are only a few institutions, and it is significant that even at our leading university, Harvard, a chair for the historical study of religion does not exist. Courses have occasionally and sporadically been introduced at other colleges and universities than the ones named, as at the University of Pennsylvania; but it is evident that without special and perma-

¹ E. g. the Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, Canada. For a full indication of what colleges and universities and seminaries have done to advance the historical study of Religions, see an article by the writer, "Recent Movements in the Historical Study of Religions in America," in *The Biblical World*, i. 24-32.

nent provision no useful and lasting work can be accomplished. It is not very difficult to discover the reasons for this defect in the college and university curriculum. In the first place, there still lurks considerable prejudice against the subject. It is idle to conceal the fact that in many quarters there is a fear lest by introducing the subject into our institutions of learning we may be involved in misunderstandings or into direct controversy with the varied religious interests represented in these institutions, and it is considered as not lying beyond the range of possibility that even the opposition of people interested in matters of practical religion might be encountered. This prejudice and this fear are factors which must be taken into consideration, and it cannot be said that they are wholly unfounded. One can easily conceive how an occupant of a chair for the study of religions, through lack of tact or the display of poor judgment, might directly bring about the evils indicated. But still, while the subject is one which touches the important concerns of life more closely than others, it will be admitted that the study of religions is by no means the only one which requires to be handled with care and delicacy in an American college or university. In view of occurrences still fresh in the minds of all in connection with the present controversy on the money question, we are justified in including the study of Political Economy among such delicate subjects. Philosophy, likewise, may be denominated a thorny field, in which professors are apt to have their fingers pricked; and even Biology is not without its danger points. As a matter of fact, there is less reason to fear complications through the introduction of the study of religions in a university curriculum than in the case of some of the subjects named. The greater part, by far, of the field of study worked by the one who is interested in investigating the phenomena of religious life belongs to the past and not to the present. Advanced religions like Christianity, Judaism, Islam, and Buddhism offer comparatively little opportunity for investigating the fundamental problems involved in religion viewed as a part of man's life. For understanding such problems we must turn to religions which are more naïve, which are less the result of conscious effort, in which speculation plays a minor part, which, in a word, are *direct* manifestations of man's emotional or religious nature. The religion of savages and of people living in a primitive condition of culture are the more special concern of the student of religions. The customs prevail-

ing in advanced religions are of comparatively little interest until they can be connected with such as form part of the life of primitive man ; and so far as the doctrines of the great religions of the present are concerned, they are so far removed from the religious views held by man in an early state of culture, and their source is so utterly different, that there would be but little opportunity of touching upon them in the courses which would be mapped out for college and university studies. But even where the present religions in which we are more particularly interested are dealt with, the historical treatment furnishes a guarantee against the introduction of a controversial spirit. A scholar trained to pursue the investigation of a subject from an objective and critical point of view runs little risk of assuming the rôle of a special pleader. Further than this, it is needless to point out at this late date how utterly unfounded is the suspicion that in some mysterious way the study of religion conduces to a depreciation of the importance or sacredness of the religious life of man. Professor Tiele, the leading exponent of the historical study of religions, has well summed up the situation in the terse statement, "between pure science and true religion nothing but perfect and abiding harmony can prevail."¹ As a matter of course, this subject must be handled sympathetically, as must all subjects to which we may be devoting ourselves ; but this single condition presupposed, there is perhaps no better way of becoming impressed with the fact that religious emotions and aspirations, and the manifestation of these emotions and aspirations, form inalienable and permanent factors in the life of the individual as in the history of the nations than by a thorough and prolonged study of religious phenomena.

A second reason for the apparent indifference to the study of religions at our colleges and universities is to be sought in the comparative newness of the subject itself. Strange as it may seem, it is only within this century, and more particularly within the last decades, that proper methods for pursuing the study of religions have been devised. Prof. Max Müller, who may be called the founder of the modern school, is still with us, and Tiele, Réville, and Tylor, who may be ranged among the pioneers, are in the height of their activity. The historical study of religions is in a certain sense the child of comparative philology and the

¹ *Elements of the Science of Religion*, ii. (Edinburgh, 1899). Preface, vi.

foster child of archæology. Though in the last century, and even earlier, much material was contributed by travelers and historians for the study of the religious customs of nations, the revolution in method brought about by researches in the domain of comparative philology and by the opening up of hitherto unknown sources for the study of ancient history in Egypt, Chaldea, Phœnicia, Cyprus, and even Greece and Rome, has created an attitude towards religious phenomena which has practically resulted in producing a new discipline. In France and Holland the study has secured a permanent foothold; in Paris there is a special section in the *École des Hautes Études* for the 'Sciences Religieuses,' while at the four Dutch universities chairs for the study of religions have been instituted. England has provided for the subject mainly through lecture foundations; America has in a modest way followed the example of England, and there are indications at present that in Scotland a permanent chair will ere long be established. But with Germany, the great center of scholarship, practically indifferent to the entire discipline, it is perhaps not so surprising that American colleges and universities, which are largely swayed by Germany's example, should not yet have been aroused to a display of greater activity. In Germany there is a feeling, which is stronger in some sections of the country than in others, that the study of religions furnishes an open door to dilettantism. This feeling is justified; and I regard the attraction which the subject offers to superficial minds, to those who are fond of taking a little dip into the well of knowledge, as one of its most serious drawbacks. It is difficult to say how far this dangerous attraction has influenced the authorities in American colleges and universities in their attitude towards the subject; but so far as I can see there is but one way of counteracting this danger, and that is for our colleges and universities to take the subject in hand. If adequate provisions were made at our universities for students desirous of investigating the phenomena of religion, the difficulties involved in the proper study would soon be apparent, and would deter those from giving their crude results to the public who are now unrestrained through the lack of a scientific standard which can only be furnished by a college and university curriculum.

There is still a third reason that may be adduced to account for the slow progress which the study of religions is making in our institutions of learning, a reason which will be appreciated by all

who are acquainted with the severe struggle for existence from which the larger colleges and universities in this country are not spared. It is perhaps safe to assert that there is no institution of learning unfolding a healthy activity that is blessed with a superfluity of income. The complaint known as "lack of funds" appears to be a chronic one in American institutions of learning, and there are grounds for suspecting that it is a contagious disease. Only recently the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania unearthed one of the oldest documents in the archives, in which this complaint is diagnosed. The probabilities are that similar documents exist among the archives of other institutions. How to treat the bacillus of collegiate poverty is a problem which causes many sleepless nights to those practical bacteriologists, the College Presidents. With the many subjects already represented in our colleges and universities inadequately provided for, it is natural for the authorities to shrink from incurring additional responsibilities. The study of religions does not fairly come under the category of a crying need; and even the enthusiasts must not be misled into supposing that there may not be other subjects which have a prior claim to recognition in the present state of university development. For all that, it seems a pity that, where opportunities exist, some steps should not be taken to provide at least for a small beginning; and as a matter of fact, most of our large institutions are in a position to make more than a beginning without adding to their responsibility to any appreciable degree. It is almost an axiom to assert that the study of religions cannot be properly carried on by a single individual. The subject consists of numerous subdivisions for which the services of specialists are required. The method pursued in Paris, where an entire faculty is engaged in teaching the subject, must serve as an example to be followed. The religions of India can only be taught in a proper way by an Indologist, and, similarly, the religion of the Semites, of Egypt, of Judea, of Chaldea, of Greece, of Rome, must be placed in the hands of those who have fitted themselves to study these religions from their sources. In the same way, the religious phenomena in the life of the primitive man demand the attention of an anthropologist. At all our larger institutions these phases of the study of religions can be provided for; and since in most of our universities several persons are found representing the same subject, it is probable that

one of these will be interested in that phase of his subject which brings him into touch with the religious literature of the language assigned to him. As a matter of course, the study of religion at a college or university would be incomplete without some one to represent the general subject, but even without such a representative, something, indeed much, can be done.

I see no reason why our universities should not distinctly recognize among the graduate subjects fitting a man for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the study of a certain religion, which can be properly carried on by the student with the help of the professor within whose range fall the sources for the investigation of the religion in question. By silent consent, no doubt, all our leading universities would recognize such intention on the part of a student, but it is the direct and special recognition for which I am pleading. If we would encourage the study of a particular religion or particular religions, it is essential in the present missionary stage of the discipline for us to direct special attention to the possibilities which exist for the investigator. One is probably safe in saying that the natural tendency of a graduate student entering upon the study of a language other than French, English or German, will be to choose a philological theme; in rare instances, perhaps, a historical one; and only by way of exception will it be found that he has hit upon a subject dealing with the religious life of the people whose literature he is studying. The comparative newness of the study of religion, to which attention has been directed, as well as the obstacles which have prevented it from finding that recognition which it merits, demand that it should be specially fostered. The trustees of our universities should have their attention directed to it as a distinct field of investigation; and official recognition, I feel convinced, will add much toward encouraging the study. There is another way in which such explicit recognition will be useful. Despite the discouraging conditions upon which I have dwelt, it may still be maintained that there is considerable interest already manifested in the study of religions of this country, and there are indications that this interest is growing. If our universities will take care of the young child and tenderly foster its growth, there is every reason to believe that this general and growing interest in the study of religions will bring to the front persons who are ready to help the movement by providing the necessary endowment for that special chair without which the subject cannot be

adequately treated. The experience of the University of Chicago should serve as an encouragement; for one is probably not wrong in asserting that the attitude of its active President in recognizing the study of religions as an integral part of the university curriculum inspired the foundation of a special lectureship and of a museum for the study of religions.

Another advantage in making at least a beginning toward *official* recognition of the subject in the Graduate Department is the direct stimulus that it would afford to both professor and student. A professor's special field of research is to some extent, at least, determined by the courses which he announces, and if the custom be once established in connection with such subjects as Greek, Latin, Semitic, Sanscrit, Germanic and Romance Languages, of including opportunities for the study of the religion of the peoples whose language and literature we are engaged in interpreting, a direct motive will be furnished to a professor for taking up the investigation of some of the numerous problems in this field that arrest his attention. Students, likewise, will have their activities guided in a certain direction; and at all events the example of a proper method for a historical study of religion will be set before them. Professors in Philosophy and Ethics can be of great service in such a movement, and I firmly believe that much useful work will be accomplished even without the existence of a special chair for the historical and comparative investigation of religions in general, though such a chair will eventually be a necessity. By properly providing for the distribution of the subject among a large number of professorships we shall be reasonably certain of steering clear of the shoals of dilettantism. In a university course it would be an axiom that no particular religion can be studied except through direct recourse to the sources, and the student would soon learn that the general and comparative aspects of the subject will be of use to him only in broadening his mental horizon and in understanding the bearing of the particular religion in which he is primarily interested upon the general phenomena of religious life.

A few words remain to be said of the position of the subject in the college curriculum. Here, of course, there can be no question of training the student for original research, and it might therefore be argued that the study of religions has no proper place in a college course. Still, it will be admitted to be of some importance for a young man who is laying the foundations of culture

for his future career, that he should at least become acquainted with the general aspects of a phase of human life which he will meet at every turn in his studies as well as in practical affairs. The religious instruction in the churches needs to be supplemented by introducing the young man or woman to the part which religion has played in the history of civilization, and there is no reason why this cannot be done without coming into conflict with the doctrines of a particular denomination. For a young man or woman to leave college without a general knowledge of what such religions as Buddhism, Islam, Judaism, stand for, not to speak of the history of Christianity, is certainly a lamentable defect, and one that is not without its influence upon the attitude of the present generation towards their own religion as well as towards religion in general. It is in the college, therefore, that the chair for the historical and comparative study of religions is indispensable, if any provision is to be made for the subject.

As already intimated, whatever interest there may be in the general public in favor of encouraging the historical study of religion at colleges and universities can only be brought out if our institutions of learning will take the initiative. I venture, therefore, to enter a plea for the recognition of the historical study of religion as a legitimate subject to be chosen by a student in an American university as part requirement for obtaining the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. For the present, and in a tentative manner, it might be put down as a minor subject, until adequate provisions be made to have it included in the higher rank of a major subject; nor is it necessary that all the subdivisions of the subjects which could be furnished should actually be covered in the announcement of courses. It might be sufficient as a beginning to provide for the study of the religion of the Greeks or Romans, or Hebrews and Babylonians, or the religions of India, and as circumstances and experience warrant, other subdivisions could then be added; but I feel convinced that not much progress in advancing the historical study of religion at colleges and universities can be expected from now on unless the question of *official* recognition is seriously taken up. It may be that in some institutions it will not be found expedient at present to further encroach upon the strength of the teaching force, or other reasons may exist which suggest postponement, but surely at many of our leading institutions these objections do not exist. With the example of France, Holland, and to a certain extent

England, before them, the authorities controlling the policy of our colleges and universities can certainly afford to take the subject under serious consideration, and indeed should feel prompted to do so.

The action of the American Oriental Society in establishing a special section for the historical study of religion is significant, not only as an endorsement of the importance of the subject but as a symptom. The step may properly be interpreted as an indication that the conditions are both ripe and favorable for taking further measures toward promoting this study in our leading institutions of learning, whose advance during the past two decades constitutes one of the most notable features in the intellectual development of this country.

Note on Meissner's Altbabylonisches Privatrecht, No. 7.—

By GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor in Bryn Mawr College,
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

THIS contract describes the dowry of a young woman. It states that: "1 ŠAR of cultivated land with 1 slave 10 shekels of silver, 1 shekel of gold as a finger ring etc., etc. is what Ashkudu, her father (*a-bu-ša*), and Taram-Sagil, her mother, have given to their daughter Duluktu. At the place which seems good to her she may found her house with Ramman-iddin, *a-bu-ša*." This last *a-bu-ša* has puzzled Meissner. He renders it 'Vater (?)'. Such a translation, however, makes nonsense, as it makes Ashkudu her father in line 24, but Ramman-iddin in line 28. The sense of the tablet clearly indicates that Ramman-iddin was her husband.

W. R. Smith pointed out in his *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*,¹ that in early Semitic אב, or *abu*, must have meant not 'progenitor' but 'nourisher,' and might be applied to a husband as in Jer. iii. 4. This view I accepted some years ago.² If, now, we apply this meaning to the word in the concluding line of Meissner's tablet, all becomes clear, and another bit of evidence is found in favor of Smith's view.

¹ Pp. 117 ff., 134.

² *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xv. 181 ff.

Relation between magic and religion.—By CRAWFORD H. TOY,
Professor in Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

THREE views of the relation between religion and magic have been and are widely held: that magic is a degraded form of religion; that it is the parent of religion; and that the two are independent, mutually unrelated systems. These views appear to rest partly on too restricted an historical survey, partly on arbitrary definitions of terms, and partly on incorrect interpretations of religious phenomena. It is assumed that a refined conception of the relation between man and the deity existed from the outset; or that there is in religion an impure idea which cannot be explained except as the product of a low initial magical form of thought; or that religion as a friendly relation with the deity and magic as a hostile relation are mutually exclusive; or that magical procedures have always been regarded by primitive peoples as lying outside the sphere of religion; or that the continuous growth of culture would be impossible without an initial and persistent sense of friendship between man and the deity. The opposing theories are sometimes stated thus: if religion, in our sense of the term, had not existed from the beginning, it could never have existed at all; or, if religion had existed from the beginning, magic could never have existed at all.¹

It is very doubtful whether such hard-and-fast dividing lines can be assumed for early stages of religion. In the beginning everything seems to have been in flux—there were no sharp definitions of natural and supernatural, of gods and demons, or, in general, of friendly and unfriendly Powers.

¹ What is called "sympathetic magic" does not come under consideration here. Producing rain by sprinkling water on the ground, torturing a man by sticking pins into an image of him, killing him by destroying an image of him, acquiring his virtues by eating a part of him, getting control of him by learning his name or by securing a part of his person—all these belong to the savage conception of natural law, so far as savages may be supposed to have such a conception; they are specimens of savage science, and have nothing to do with religion. Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. 9 f., and, for the view that these processes depend on the power of the conjurer over ghosts, Spencer, *Sociology*, i. § 134. We understand "magic" as meaning the power to control supernatural beings.

There was a vague sense of power (and, doubtless, of life) in all things. It was supposed that animals, plants, minerals and heavenly bodies, and parts of them (the foot or tongue of an animal, a leaf, a bit of stone), were able to produce or ward off sickness or death, and generally to affect the fortunes of men.¹ This universally present power does not appear to have been at first an object of worship—its recognition probably did not involve distinct religious feeling in our sense of the term; but in such recognition there was the germ of religion, the assumption of a relation between human life and a power outside the individual man. The doings of this power were of all sorts, helpful and harmful, and there was neither logical nor moral element in them. What might happen to a man from any object in the world was at first matter of pure chance; it was only after a long and painful experience that men were able to make trustworthy discrimination between phenomena, and classify them as beneficial or injurious. The attitude of early man toward his surroundings seems to have been one of doubt and caution; he had to be on his guard for the sake of his own welfare, and was prepared to be friendly or unfriendly as circumstances might seem to require.

This posture of mind is reflected in the stories of men and animals who, at a later stage, are the incarnations of power—the creative and formative personages of the beginnings of society proper.² The Coyote of the Redmen is a “culture hero,” but a non-moral and impish one, doing good or evil according to the freak of the moment; the procedures of the Australian “ancestors,” while they are not malicious, are still not directed by any well-defined desire to benefit men; and traces of these qualities are visible in similar personages of more cultivated societies, as in Heracles, and even in gods like Indra.

The distinction between “gods” (friendly members of the human community) and “demons” (unfriendly outside powers) seems to be relatively late. All such beings were in very early times classed together as agencies affecting man’s life. The two classes gradually assumed distinct characters, but, in the material

¹ For examples see J. H. King, *The Supernatural*, i. 66–131. The vague conception of power is summed up in the Melanesian word *mana*.

² See *Memoirs of the Amer. Folklore Soc. : Navaho Legends*, and *Thompson River Indian Traditions*; Spencer & Gillen, *Tribes of Central Australia*.

accessible to us, it is often hard to say to which class a particular figure belongs. Such a deity as the Hawaiian Pele (the goddess of the volcano), who is often vindictive, differs little from the demon that sends sickness and death.¹ The Babylonians gave the same name (*shedu*) to a class of demons, and to the protecting half-gods (allied to the Hebrew cherubs) that guarded the entrances to temples, sacred gardens, and palaces.² The Mohammedan doctors divided the jinn into the two classes of believing and unbelieving (that is, friendly and unfriendly), and the later Jewish tradition regarded certain demons as having fallen from an original state of goodness; these theological constructions may point to a belief in an original concord between gods and demons. The Navaho personages called *yei* and *anaye* seem to hover on the border line that separates the divine and demonic classes. The sun, according to the Thompson River folklore, was once a cannibal, but afterwards became beneficent. The element of hostility to man that appears in some well-developed gods may be regarded as the survival of an attitude which was once far more common.³

Early man, in his struggle for existence, protected himself against the powers about him, or secured their aid, as best he could, by force or by gifts. It is not only purely malevolent beings that are coerced in early forms of religion. A sacred image or symbol is maltreated or destroyed if it does not comply with the wishes of the possessor or worshiper. The Egyptians are said (by Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 73) to have slain their divine animals if these failed to avert or remove calamity. A divine king is put to death on certain occasions.⁴ A god may be carried off to a distant land and compelled to do duty there;⁵ or he may be confined in his temple to prevent his going away voluntarily or by constraint. Prometheus, the champion of man against Zeus, is victorious in the end, and the Homeric heroes fight and vanquish gods. The Indian *munis* by ascetic observances acquire such power as arouses the jealousy and fear of Indra.

¹ When a tribe is described as "demon-worshippers," this means only that it has not made the distinction between gods and demons.

² Jastrow, *Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, pp. 260 ff.

³ So, for example, a number of Egyptian deities.

⁴ Many examples are given by Frazer in the *Golden Bough*.

⁵ So the Babylonian goddess Nana was carried away by the Elamites, and restored to her place, after 1635 years, by Assurbanipal.

The magician, in his earliest form, appears to be simply a master of the occult influences of the world. He controls the elements and the heavenly bodies, inflicts and cures disease, awards plenty or want, victory or defeat, kills and restores to life; he does all that the gods afterwards do, and in later times is their rival. At first he has no relations with extra-human persons; he is not dependent on them, and does not direct his efforts toward them—he is a man who is gifted (by whatever means) with the power of producing all sorts of results in the world. Later, when the occult influences take personal shape, as *daemonia*¹ of all characters, it is these that he controls. There are neither social nor moral distinctions in the earliest class of *daemonia*; they all affect men's lives, but they have no special friendly or unfriendly relations with individuals or communities, and their procedures are determined, not by considerations of right and wrong, but by whim or by motives unknown to men. But they are thought of as being amenable to certain laws, and the magician is the man who knows these laws, and is able, by employing certain means, to force these beings to do his will. He may control good powers or bad, and may himself at times be benevolent or malevolent; but he is always a recognized member of the religious community, employing methods which are regarded as lawful and right.

It appears, then, that the attitude of the early man toward supernatural Powers was composite, made up of friendship and hostility, reverence and suspicion. As society became better organized, these elements of religious feeling were more and more sharply discriminated, the tendency being to include only the friendly Powers in the social system, and look on the others as outsiders. By the time the organization in clans was brought to a state of relative completeness, the distinction between the two classes of deities was practically effected, and the history of civilizing religion begins at this point; men could not live in orderly society without coming to some sort of understanding with the most potent members of the community. But the clan proper is a relatively late institution, and it is a mistake to make it the starting-point of the history of religion.²

¹ If the term "spirit" be used for these beings, it must be borne in mind that they are not incorporeal.

² This is practically done by W. R. Smith and others.

The priest and the prophet are lineal descendants of the magician on one side of his function—the side of friendly communion, of intercourse with friendly Powers. The other side of him—the coercive function—comes to be more and more out of harmony with the feeling of the community, and acquires an anti-social and disreputable character. It becomes discourteous and disintegrating to attempt to force the god of the clan or tribe, and such violent procedure is prohibited by law.

Magic may possibly in some cases be the superstitious interpretation put by a relatively undeveloped people on the ritual of a higher religion which they have accepted.¹ It has been suggested that the term thus got its meaning: the Magi, it is thought, may have been looked on as sorcerers by the ignorant peoples on whom the Mazdean faith was forced.² The word was adopted by the Greeks not later than the early part of the 5th century B. C.,³ and the procedures of the Magi of that time are not known to us from other than Greek sources. It may be that they were then in part simple sorcerers, coercing the supernatural Powers, controlling the elements, and working good or evil on men in a non-moral way. But, even if such an explanation holds in the case of relatively advanced societies, it does not apply to the savage tribes among whom sorcery is most prevalent; it is hardly possible to conceive of their having come to it by a misunderstanding of higher forms of religion.

The facts seem to force us to reject the three views mentioned above, and to hold that the earliest beliefs and practices known to us contain the germs of both religion and magic, and that these have grown side by side, the one or the other getting the advantage in a given society according to the progress made in social organization. Law and order is what man desires and civilization moves toward—order among men so that they may be friends, and order between men and gods for a like reason. Magic, however, comes to mean disorder, and therefore has not been able, in civilized peoples, to maintain itself against religion, which stands for order.

¹ Tylor.

² Cf. Tiele, *Elements of the Science of Religion*, ii. 140.

³ Eurip., *Suppl.* 1110; *Iph. in Taur.* 1338; *Orest.* 1498; Plato, *Pol.* 280 D.

Henry Clarke Warren : an obituary notice.—By CHARLES R. LANMAN, Professor in Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.¹

HENRY CLARKE WARREN was born in Boston, November 18, 1854, son of the late Samuel Dennis and of Susan Clarke Warren. He was the second of four brothers, all graduates of Harvard College, in the classes of '75, '79, '83, and '84 respectively. In his early childhood a fall from a gig produced an injury which resulted in spinal ailment and in lifelong physical disability and suffering. This is all the more a loss to the world, because his intellectual endowments were of an uncommonly high order ; and because they were directed in their activity by a moral character of singular purity, unselfishness, and loftiness.

Thus shut out, before ever experiencing them, from many of the possibilities that make life attractive to childhood, youth, and young manhood, he bravely set himself to make the utmost of what remained to him. His broadness of mind soon showed itself in a catholicity of interest very unusual for one of his years. Already in College he had won the affectionate regard of his teacher, Professor Palmer, by his keen interest in the history of philosophy. He became an intelligent student of Plato, Kant, and Schopenhauer ; and, as we shall see, the natural trend of his mind toward speculative questions showed clearly in his scientific investigations of Buddhism. With all this went an eager curiosity about the visible world around him. We can easily believe that he would have attained to high distinction in natural science, so good was his native gift of observation and of well-balanced reflection upon what he saw. He used his microscope with great satisfaction in botanical study. At Baltimore he worked with enthusiasm in the chemical laboratory. And through all his later years, an aquarium on a smaller or larger scale was a thing which he maintained with intelligent and persistent interest. But for

¹ This notice is reprinted by permission from the HARVARD GRADUATES' MAGAZINE, for March, 1899, vol. vii., number xxvii. A few sentences at the beginning and end have been omitted, and a few sentences, with a list of Mr. Warren's publications, have been added.

the most part he was forced, reluctantly enough, we may guess, to see with the eyes of others ; and accordingly his reading in the natural sciences—in those just now mentioned, in physiology and kindred subjects ancillary to medicine, and in geography—was wide, and was for him a well-chosen foil to the severer studies which were his unprofessed profession. As a further resource for diversion of the hours of weariness or solitude, he took to books of travel and of fiction ; and by way of zest, acceptable to so active a mind, he read them, one in German, another in Dutch, and another in French or Spanish or Russian.

The department of science, however, in which he has made a name for himself is Oriental Philosophy, and in particular Buddhism, conceived, not as a simple body of ethical teaching, but as an elaborate system of doctrine. He had begun the study of Sanskrit, as an undergraduate at Harvard, with Professor Greenough ; and, after taking his bachelor's degree in 1879, had continued the study at the newly established Johns Hopkins University, first under Professor Lanman, and then, after the latter had been called (in 1880) to Harvard, with his successor, Professor Bloomfield. A visit to London in June, 1884, and especially his meetings there with Rhys Davids, seem to have confirmed Mr. Warren in his purpose to devote himself seriously to the study of Pali, the language of the sacred books of the Southern Buddhists.

His first essay in print was an admirable version of a Buddhist story, in the *Providence Journal* of October 27, 1884. An interesting paper on "Superstitious Customs connected with Sneezing" soon followed in the *Journal* of the American Oriental Society. Later appeared results of his studies in the *Transactions* of the International Congress of Orientalists at London, and in the *Journal* of the Pali Text Society of London. These, however, were but chips from the keel he had laid for a craft of ambitious dimension and noble design. He realized how scant at most were the time and strength presumably at his disposal, and wisely judged it best to devote that little, not to the learned quisquilæ on which many scholars fritter their days away, but rather to one or two works of individuality and of independent significance.

The residence in Baltimore seems to have given him a new lease of life. In 1884 he came home to Boston. On the death of his father in 1888, he made trial of the climate of southern California, but soon returned, and in 1891 established his resi-

dence at Cambridge. Persistent study, meantime, was making his acquaintance with the original sacred writings of the Buddhists extensive and thorough, so that at length he could justly be called one of the leading Pali scholars of the Occident.

In 1896 appeared his "Buddhism in Translations," published by the University as volume iii. of the Harvard Oriental Series. It is an octavo of 540 pages, made up of about 130 passages from the Pali scriptures. These selections, done into English prose and verse, are chosen with such broad and learned circumspection that they make a systematically complete presentation of their difficult subject. The work is divided into five chapters. Of these, the first gives the picturesque Buddha legend, and the fifth treats of the monastic order; while the other three are concerned with the fundamental conceptions of Buddhism, to wit, "sentient existence, Karma and rebirth, and meditation and Nirvana." Mr. Warren's interest centered in the philosophical chapters; the first and last were for him rather a concession to popular interest, an addition intended to "float" the rest. Much has recently been written about Buddhism upon the basis of secondary or even less immediate sources. Mr. Warren's material is drawn straight from the fountain-head. It is this fact that gives his book an abiding importance and value. And it was a genuine and legitimate satisfaction to him to read the judgments passed on his work by eminent Orientalists—of England, France, the Netherlands, India, and Ceylon—welcoming him, as it were, to a well-earned place among their ranks.

One of the most pleasing features of his later years was his intercourse with the Venerable Subhuti, a Buddhist Elder, of Waskaduwa in Ceylon. This distinguished monk, whose learning, modesty, and kindness had endeared him years ago to Childers, Fausböll, and Rhys Davids, was no less ready with words of encouragement for Mr. Warren, and with deeds of substantial service, notably the procuring of copies of manuscripts. The King of Siam recently celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession to the throne by publishing in 39 volumes a memorial edition of the Buddhist scriptures or Tipitaka (a most commendable method of celebrating! Sovereigns of far more enlightened lands have preferred sky-rockets). Copies were sent, exclusively as gifts, to the principal libraries of Europe and America, Harvard among them. Mr. Warren had sent to His Majesty a magnificently bound set of the Harvard Oriental

Series ; and it was matter of honest pride and pleasure to him to receive from the king in return a beautiful copy of this Tipitaka. It is certain to be a satisfaction to the king and some of the high authorities at Bangkok when they learn how diligently Mr. Warren used the royal gift.

Long before the issue of his "Buddhism," Mr. Warren was well advanced in his study of Buddhaghosa's "Way of Purity." To publish a masterly edition of this work was the ambition of his life as a scholar. He did not live to see of the travail of his soul ; but, as in the case of Whitney, of Child, and of Lane, it is believed that naught of his labor of love will be lost. A word about Buddhaghosa and his work, and about Warren's plan and his progress towards its achievement.

Buddhaghosa (about 400 A. D.) was a famous divine, who had been brought up in all the wisdom of the Brahmans, and who, after his conversion to Buddhism, became an exceedingly prolific writer. He may, in some sort, be styled the St. Augustine of India. His "Way of Purity," or "Visuddhi-magga," is an encyclopædia *raisonnée* of Buddhist doctrine. It is, as Childers says, "a truly great work, written in terse and lucid language, and showing a marvelous grasp of the subject." Warren's plan was to publish a scholarly edition of the Pali text of this work, with full but well-sifted critical apparatus, a complete English translation, an index of names, and other useful appendices. The learned monk makes constant citations from his predecessors, quite after the manner of the Christian church fathers. And in order further to enhance the usefulness of his edition, Mr. Warren had undertaken to trace back all these quotations to their sources.

His material consisted mainly of four palm-leaf manuscripts. The first was a Burmese codex, loaned him by the British government from the India Office Library ; and two, in Singalese characters, were sent him by Rhys Davids and the late Dr. Richard Morris. The Pali text Mr. Warren had practically constituted from beginning to end, aside from the final adjustment of many matters of orthographic detail, in which the Burmese and Insular copies are consistently at odds. Much labor, therefore, needs still to be put upon the *apparatus criticus*. Of the English version, one third has been made, parts having already appeared in his "Buddhism." And about one half of the quotations have been traced and identified in the vast literature from which Buddhaghosa drew.

If Mr. Warren's work sees the light, it will then appear that his methods were such as to serve as a model in any department of philology, classical, Semitic, what not, and that his achievement is one of which all American scholarship may justly be proud. It is fervently to be hoped that his plan may be faithfully carried out in its entirety.

Mr. Warren was elected a member of our Oriental Society at Boston in May, 1882 (*Journal*, vol. xi. p. cvi). At the meeting in Washington in April, 1892 (vol. xv. p. cxliv), he was elected Treasurer, relieving Professor Lanman, who was at that time serving as Corresponding Secretary and as Treasurer. This office he held till his death, in January, 1899, performing its duties with scrupulous care until the end. Thus, either as a Director or as a productive worker, he was for nigh two decades an interested, active, and useful member of the Society—one of the type that further most the fundamental objects of such an organization.

He was a devoted son of Harvard, generous and loyal. And as a citizen, whether of the municipality or of the Commonwealth, he was no less public-spirited than modest, ever ready to do his full share in works of enlightened organized charity, or to help, for example, in the preservation of our forests or in the reform of the civil service. Thus in many ways and for divers reasons he will be sorely missed among his colleagues, his neighbors, and friends, and not the least for the example which he set for us as scholars. His was the 'friendliness' or 'good-will' (*mettā*) which played such a role among the *pāramīs* of the gentle Gotama; his was patient and cheerful courage in adversity; his was a whole-hearted love of truth, untouched by baser motive, coupled with reverence and humility in the quest; and his was a profoundly religious nature: for these things, while we mourn, let us remember him and be glad.

MR. WARREN'S WRITINGS.

"A Buddhist Story, translated from the original Pāli." [Jātaka, No. 301, with *paccupanna-* and *atīta-vatthu* and commentary.] *Providence Journal*, October 27, 1884.

"On Superstitious Customs connected with Sneezing." [Apropos of Jātaka, No. 155.] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xiii. pp. xvii-xx (= *Proceedings* for May, 1885).

"The so-called Chain of Causation of the Buddhists." Ibidem, xvi. pp. xxvii-xxx (April, 1893).

"Report of Progress of Work upon Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-Magga." Ibidem, xvi. pp. lxvi-lxvii (March, 1894).

Seven Annual Reports as Treasurer of the American Oriental Society, 1892-1899. Ibidem, vols. xvi.-xx. The first is at p. ii, vol. xvi. (April, 1893).

"Pāli Manuscripts in the Brown University Library, at Providence, R. I., U. S." *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, 1885, pp. 1-4.

"Table of Contents of Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-Magga." Ibidem, 1891-93, pp. 76-164.

"Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-Magga." [General account, introductory to the table of contents just mentioned.] *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists* (London, 1892), vol. i. pp. 362-365.

"Buddhism in Translations." Vol. iii. of the Harvard Oriental Series. Cambridge, 1896. 8vo, pp. xx + 520.

Review of de Groot's "Le code du Mahāyāna en Chine." *The New World*, 1897, vol. vi. pp. 168-171.

"Buddhaghosa's Way of Purity (*Visuddhi-magga*) edited in the original Pāli and translated into English." [To be published in the Harvard Oriental Series.]

The Origin of the Vidūṣaka, and the employment of this character in the plays of Harsadeva.—By MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, JR., Columbia University, New York City.¹

IN tracing the origin of the *vidūṣaka*, our researches are hindered by the fact that no specimens of the earliest Sanskrit dramas have been preserved to us. The *Mṛcchakaṭikā* of Çūdraka is without doubt the oldest extant play; but this work is not by any means a primitive or early effort at play-writing. The perfection of its conception and execution forces us to presuppose an earlier and ruder era in the history of the Sanskrit drama. When we examine the actual rôle of the *vidūṣaka* in the plays which have come down to us, and then turn to the rules for the creation of this type which we find in the rhetorical text-books, such as the *Nāṭya-gāstra* of Bharata and the *Sāhitya-darpana*, we are struck at once by the contradictions and differences between the two conceptions of the same character. The hypothesis which in my opinion would best explain these discrepancies is that the *vidūṣaka* originated, not in the court drama under the influence of the Brahman caste, but in the earlier plays of the different tribes of India. These primitive efforts are presumed to have been for the most part farces,² and their characters were doubtless taken from the actual life of that time. It was in this way that the priest-ridden people had an opportunity to express their hatred of the Brahmins, which no doubt they eagerly embraced. By making the *vidūṣaka* a degraded and contemptible wretch, who was nevertheless a Brahman, they could give the farcical element to their rude and formless plays, and at the same time take revenge on the privileged class.

When the drama was later taken up by the Brahmins and made court poetry, and when formal rules were given for its

¹ This paper, which was presented in abstract, forms part of a larger work, not yet finished, dealing with the *Vidūṣaka*, the buffoon or jester on the stage of Ancient India. The present outline merely sketches one or two points that are to be more fully developed hereafter.

² Cf. Sylvain Lévi, *Le théâtre Indien*.

composition, it brought with it all the conventional characters which had been found in the village-plays. It was not possible for the Brahmans to discard a personage so firmly established in the minds of the people as the *vidūṣaka*, and yet the priesthood could not see their caste travestied as contemptible rascals. They therefore modified the more vicious features of the type, and made more prominent its strictly humorous side. This is why we find the *vidūṣaka* in the extant plays a simple buffoon and fun-maker. This would also give us a reason for the great diversity of Prākritis used in the classical dramas. If the Brahmans had been the original inventors of the drama, they would doubtless have made this character, who, as a Brahman, should have spoken Sanskrit, use the literary and cultivated language which would have been easily understood by their hearers at court. But they found a popular vernacular drama already flourishing, which they merely adapted and improved for their own use. For this reason the *vidūṣaka*, in all the plays of which we have any knowledge, exhibits what in any other case would be the anomaly of a Brahman speaking in a Prākrit (the Prācyā).

The origin of the *vidūṣaka*, therefore, must be sought for in the early vernacular village-plays which preceded the classical Sanskrit drama of India, for the character was not the invention of the Brahmanical poets.

The best examples of the *vidūṣaka* are to be found in the three plays of Harṣadeva,¹ especially in his *Nāgānanda*, or 'Joy of the Snake World.' The author's religious tolerance is no doubt the cause of the freedom with which he treats a type elsewhere in Sanskrit literature so entirely conventional. Harṣa had strong leanings towards Buddhism, although he was tolerant of all other sects. Two of his plays *Priyadārgikā* and *Ratnāvalī* are dedicated to Īiva, and are, therefore, under Brahmanical influence. In both these works the *vidūṣaka* is still the conventional fun-maker of the other dramatists. Details of these plays must, however, be left for the more complete study which will, it is hoped, be published later.² But in the *Nāgānanda*, of which the *nāṇḍī* (introductory benediction) is addressed to Buddha, we have an entirely

¹ The question of authorship is not here discussed.

² Synopses may be found in Huizinga, *De Vidūṣaka in het indisch Tooneel* (Groningen, 1897), and Wilson, *Hindu Theater* (London, 1871). See also Cimmino, *Il tipo comico del vidūṣhaka nell' antico dramma indiano* (Naples, 1898).

different type of *vidūṣaka*. The third act of the *Nāgānanda*, in particular, shows how in that play Harsa, perhaps after the manner of the earlier popular dramas, allows himself full play for his ridicule of the Brahmans in the character of the besotted and degraded buffoon Ātreya, and, as a result, we have a *vidūṣaka* whose typical qualities are accentuated far beyond the limits which were imposed by their religious tendencies upon the other dramatists of Ancient India.

Time analysis of Sanskrit plays.—By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Professor in Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

I. THE DRAMAS OF KĀLIDĀSA.

That courtly poet and polished critic of the sixteenth century, Sir Philip Sidney, in his scholarly defense of poetry, rebukes the dramatic writers of his day for their violation of the classic unity of time on the stage. He complains of their making heroes fall in love, marry, beget children, live their life, and die—and all within ‘the two hours traffick of the stage.’ Little did he think that a Shakspeare was so soon to arise as the highest authority for defying all rules that bind a poet in too classic fetters. Still less could he have dreamed that more than a thousand years before his day there had bloomed and flourished in India a drama whose master playwrights, when occasion suited them, had blown to the winds many a stringent rule for the unity of time, and had done this with true dramatic effect. Hardly could Sidney have fancied that Sanskrit rhetoricians themselves had likewise made strictures on the compositions of their own dramatic authors, and had laid down certain general rules on the observance or non-observance of the unity of time which they had deduced from national masterpieces. For this reason it is not without interest to examine the plays of the early Hindu theatre in regard to this matter of the unity of time.

Some material with reference to the unities on the Indian stage has been gathered by others. Wilson’s *Theatre of the Hindus* furnishes a number of references; Lévi’s *Théâtre Indien* naturally yields more; and short discussions or scattered allusions are found elsewhere. The best of these is by Windisch. This latter scholar in his well-known monograph, *Der griechische Einfluss im indischen Drama*, pp. 46–49, devotes three pages to a brief treatment of the special subject of the unity of time when he is making a general comparison of the Hindu stage with the Greek. The notes in the present article, however, have been made from material gathered independently of Windisch’s brief discussion and without referring to it; but when the results were reached

his investigations were consulted. This made the research more interesting, and attention will be called below to those details in which there is a substantial difference from his deductions.

Although I have made some examination of the other Sanskrit dramatists in regard to this matter of time, the investigation in the present paper is confined to Kālidāsa. There may be some differences of opinion with regard to some of the deductions, as based on matters of detail, and if errors be found, it is hoped that they will be corrected. Some passages with time allusions, moreover, may have been overlooked, but if so, other scholars will no doubt aid in supplementing this collection. In such a matter we need only recall that it is sometimes not difficult to add a new time reference even to so complete a work as Daniel's *Time Analysis of the Plots of Shakspeare's Plays* (New Shakspeare Soc. Trans., 1877-79). A glance at Daniel's treatise on the English dramatist will show that there may be work to do on somewhat similar lines for the Indian plays. With these words of introduction we may turn to the Hindu Shakspeare, Kālidāsa, and take up his three extant plays, the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Ākuntalā*, and *Vikramorvaṣī*.

The editions and translations of Kālidāsa are numerous; but for convenience the references and citations are made throughout to the text published in the series of the Nirṇaya-Sāgara press. Pischel's *Ākuntalā* and Bollensen's *Urvashi* have also been consulted in difficult passages. The annotated editions of the *Vikramorvaṣī* by Shankar P. Pandit (Bombay, 1879; 2d ed. 1889), by G. B. Vaidya (Bombay, 1894), and by M. R. Kale (Bombay, 1898) have given considerable help. The latter two have also translations. Mention may likewise be made of the English rendering of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* by Tawney (Calcutta, 1875—also in a second edition), the German versions by Weber (Berlin, 1856) and Fritze (Leipzig, Reclam series), and an Italian version by Cimmino (Napoli, 1897). Among the various translations of the *Ākuntalā* notice may be taken of the rendering by Edgren (New York, 1894), as it is easily accessible, and likewise of those of the *Vikramorvaṣī* by Wilson, Bollensen, Fritze, Foucaux, Vaidya, and Kale. [The edition of *Abhiññāṣakuntalā*, by Kale, Bombay, 1898, arrived after the present article was in type.—Proof sheet addition.]

Before proceeding to discuss these plays in detail, however, we may say a few words on the Sanskrit drama as a romantic

drama, in contrast to the early classic Greek. Its romantic character is that which makes the Hindu productions more comparable with the New Attic comedy and with the Elizabethan drama. The Indian plays have much freedom in regard to the unity of time, for the action of a Sanskrit play may comprise events that cover an entire year or even a number of years. It is true that there are certain limitations, and these are to be found duly recorded in the canons which the Sanskrit rhetoricians have deduced. These limitations are worth citing so far as they relate to the act and to the play as a whole. The *Sāhitya-Darpana* § 278 (ed. Roer and Ballantyne; transl. Pramāda-Dāsa Mitra) lays down the rule for the act (*an̥ka*), that "it should not contain events of more than one day." Furthermore (§ 306), "a business extending beyond a year should be comprised within a year." To this the comment is added: "As has been said by the sage, 'all that was done in a month, or even in a year, should be performed in a separate Introductory Scene (*an̥kaccheda*), but never what extends beyond a year.' So the destruction of Virāḍha, etc., parts of the story of Rāma's dwelling in the forest, though it extended over fourteen years, may be hinted, without opposition (to the above dictum), to have occupied a year or any portion of it, such as a couple of days," etc. This latter point must be kept in mind, as reference will be made to it hereafter. Finally the canon reads, § 307, "What was done in a day, but in a whole day, is to be intimated by means of the Introductory Scene apart from the main act." See also the similar references to the *Bharata Nāṭyaśāstra*, 18. 22, and the *Daśarūpa*, 3. 33, noted by Lévi, *Théâtre Indien*, p. 58, and by Windisch, p. 46. These are the only time limitations which the Sanskrit playwrights observed, and having noted these we may proceed to the time analysis of Kālidāsa's dramas in detail.

1. Mālavikāgnimitra.

Plot of the play in brief : The King falls in love with a fair maid and wins her hand before five days have elapsed—the time within which a certain *agoka* plant is said in the play to have bloomed. Number of acts, five.

Act I.—(1) The king despatches an army to overthrow the hostile king of Vidarbha, whose quick defeat is afterwards told in the fifth act (pp. 11, 88 *Nirṇaya-Sāgara* edition). (2) A plan is arranged for a trial of skill between the pupils of two rival

teachers of dancing and acting. The performance is about to begin at the close of the Act; a drum gives the signal (cf. allusions to *mṛdaṅga*-, *mudraṅga*-, *maraja*, pp. 21, 22, 23).

Time of the first act, part of the forenoon of a day.

Act II.—No interval separates this act from the preceding; the king goes directly from the audience hall to the music room (p. 25). The dancing scene occupies most of the act, and noon is supposed to be reached at its close (cf. allusion to the time of day, *upārūḍho madhyāhnaḥ*, p. 33, and the reference to the hour for bathing and dining (*bhoṇaṇelā*, p. 33). As the king leaves the stage he promises to witness the exhibition of the rival teacher Haradatta on the 'morrow' (*śvo*, p. 33).

Time of the second act, continuation of the same forenoon.

Slight Interval? A very slight interval, hardly more than a day, may be assumed to separate Act iii. from Act ii., if we may judge from the Prelude, or *praveśaka* of Act iii., and if we also recall that the king had promised to witness the rival performance on the 'morrow.' From the dialogue in the Prelude between the attendant and the maid in waiting we learn that the king has decided the dancing contest in favor of the lovely Mālavikā, so that there has been some gossip on the subject (cf. *koṭiṇam*, p. 37); moreover, Mālavikā is observed to be pining 'in these days' (*imesu diahesu*, p. 37), and the king himself is deeply in love with her (pp. 38, 53).—Windisch, in his short note, does not place any longer interval than the next day between these acts.

Act III.—This particular act gives the key for the time of the rest of the play. The lovelorn king appears upon the stage; the queen has already become suspicious, and she is exceedingly (*akiam*, p. 39) watchful of Mālavikā. The day itself is the beginning of the spring season, and on this day a ceremony is to be performed which shall cause the beautiful *aśoka* tree to blossom (pp. 38–41). According to an ancient Indian superstition this is accomplished when some handsome woman touches the tree with her foot. As the chief queen has sprained her ankle by falling from a swing (*dolā*, p. 43), she sends her handmaid, the fair Mālavikā, to the garden to perform the rite. She adds to her command a delightful promise that she will bestow some great boon on the girl 'if the plant flowers within the interval of five days from the time' (*jadi so pañcarattabbhantare kusumam daṁsedi*, p. 43). This is the allusion to the 'five

nights,' which, as shown by the sequel in Act v., gives the time for the play.

Time of the third act, part of one day.

The next day? Only a slight interval, if any, separates Act iv. from Act iii. The Vidūshaka at the opening of Act iv. tells us that the second queen, Irāvati, had called upon the chief queen 'yesterday' (*hio*, p. 64); this visit apparently was made directly after the episode in the garden, as she had overseen the king making love to the girl. We also learn from the Vidūshaka that the queen still suffers from the injury to her ankle (*ruakkanta-calanam*, p. 64).—I find that Windisch also places Act iv. on the day directly after Act iii.

Act IV.—There is no break in the development of this act itself. At its close we are told that 'even before the completion of the fifth day' (*apunne evva pañcaratte*, p. 87) the *açoka* tree is covered with blossoms, and the good news is carried to the queen.

Time of the fourth act, part of a day.

Act V.—No interval of any account separates this act from the preceding. Mālavikā is discovered to be a princess in disguise, and as a reward to her for the blossoming of the *açoka* within the five days she is made the third wife of the king. At the same moment the king also receives the news of his signal victory over the monarch of Vidarbha (cf. Act i.).

Time of the fifth act, duration of the action itself.

Summary of the duration of the action of the Mālavikāgni-mitra.

Act i.-ii., part of one day.	1
[Possible slight interval, but hardly more than a day.]	
Act iii., part of one day.	1
[Only a slight interval, if any.]	
Act iv., part of one day.	1
Act v., perhaps the next day.	1

The whole time occupied by the action is thus about a week.

2. Çakuntalā.

Plot of the play in brief : King Dushyanta falls in love with Çakuntalā; they accidentally become separated, but are united some years afterwards in the presence of their young son. Number of acts, seven.

Act I.—King Dushyanta arrives at the hermitage of the Sage Kaṇva; the latter at the time, however, is absent on a pious pilgrimage (cf. pp. 21–22 and Act iv.). The Sage's foster daughter, Çakuntalā, receives the king, who immediately falls in love with her.

Time of the first act, part of a day.

Act II.—This act opens on the morning after the first act (cf. *hio* 'yesterday,' when the king saw Çakuntalā, p. 56; and *ajja vi* 'also to-day', p. 56). A jesting allusion of the Viḍūṣaka implies that the king is making provision for something of a stay at the hermitage, (cf. *gaḥīdupāheo*, p. 76). The hermits themselves gladly invite him to remain for 'some days' (*katipayarāt-tram*, p. 79). Directly after this, however, the king receives word from his queen-mother requesting his presence at the royal city 'on the fourth day' (*cautthadiahe*, p. 81) to attend a sacrificial festival. We are not told that he actually went within this allotted time, but it is in accordance with the general action of the play.

Time of the second act, part of the next day after the first act.

Very slight interval. A very slight interval seems to occur between Act ii. and Act iii. This is implied, for instance, in the allusion to Çakuntalā's having pined with love from the very first sight of the king (cf. *padhamadaṁsaṇādo*, p. 90; *jado pahudi mama daṁsaṇapaham ādo*, p. 94), and the allusion to her 'daily wasting away' (*anūdiham kkhū parihāsi āṇehim*, p. 92) so that her appearance is much changed (p. 92, etc.). The king likewise 'in these days' (*imāim diakhāim*, p. 96) has grown emaciated from sleeplessness, and he confesses that 'night by night' (*niṣi niṣi*, p. 96) he lies awake, and has grown so thin that the bracelet—as is often said in Sanskrit of lovers—slips down his arm without being checked by bowstring scars which come from hunting. In spite of this seeming to imply a longer interval, it can hardly be conceived that any considerable lapse of time is supposed to intervene; the union of the king with his beloved is hardly likely to have been long postponed, and the allusions to 'several days,' and 'on the fourth day,' as already noted in Act ii., speak rather for the brevity of the interval.—Windisch's memorandums, I find, do not allow for any interval here, but he places Act iii. on the next day after Act ii. [But Kale assumes a slight interval as I do.—Proof sheet addition.]

Act III.—This act brings about the union of Dushyanta and Çakuntalā, and in itself the duration of the business is short, and rapidly passes from the time when the heat of the day is not yet over (*anirvāṇo divasaḥ*, p. 107; *ātape*, p. 108)—unless this statement by the king be an exaggeration—to the ‘close of the day’ when ‘night is at hand’ and ‘the evening oblation’ is about to begin (cf. *parinādo dīaho*, p. 111; *uvattiā raanī*, p. 110; *sāyantane savanakarmaṇi*, p. 113).

Time of the third act, part of an afternoon towards dusk.

Interval. An interval of some months elapses between the third act and the fourth—or perhaps rather between the Prelude of Act iv. and that Act itself. In this Prelude we learn that the king has married Çakuntalā by the Gandharva rites, and with the permission of the hermits he has departed after giving her a ring as a marriage pledge, and is now at home in the royal capital (pp. 115–116). It seems best thus to place the interval between the Prelude and the Act itself, for in the Prelude the king has apparently just departed, and the abstracted Çakuntalā, for some inattention, is cursed by the angry Rishi Durvāsas; nor has her foster-father yet returned. When the Act itself begins, the curse has had time to take effect (*duvvāsaso kobo*, p. 124), the king has forgotten her, and has ‘not even in that long time sent a letter’ (*etiassa kālassa lehamettaṃ pi na visajjedi*, p. 124; cf. also pp. 118, 260–261); Çakuntalā, moreover, is in a delicate condition, as she is with child (*ābhaṇṇasattaṃ*, p. 124), and the signs of pregnancy are plainly evident (cf. *idānīm āpannasattvā*, p. 165, *abhivayaktasattvalakṣaṇāṃ*, p. 169). [It is interesting now to find that Kale, p. 22, takes a similar view. He says: “an interval of about a month and a half separates the fourth Act from the third, there being a distance of about fifteen days between the Act itself and the Vishkambhaka.”—Proof sheet addition.]

Act IV.—The opening of Act iv. is at dawn (*prabhātam*, p. 121; *sujjodae*, p. 128). The venerable Kaṇva has just returned from his pilgrimage. He knows that his foster-daughter is with child by the king (p. 128, cf. pp. 165, 169), and determines to send her to him ‘this very day’ (*ajja evva*, p. 125; *ajja evva*, p. 126; *yāsyaty adya*, p. 132). By the time that the sun has risen Çakuntalā starts on her journey to the palace (*yugāntaram ārūḍhaḥ savitā*, p. 146).

Time of the fourth act, from before dawn until the sun is well up.

Interval—very slight. Only a very slight interval, probably not more than two or three days, is to be allowed for the journey to the city. It can hardly be longer than that, since the hermitage was not very far from the town, as we know from 'the fourth day' in Act ii. (p. 81), and also because the king, on bidding adieu to Çakuntalā, had promised that his messenger should bring her to join him in the palace before as many days had elapsed as there were syllables in his name—Dushyanta—inscribed on the ring he gave her (p. 209). It was this ring that Çakuntalā unfortunately lost on the way to the palace (p. 172).

Act V.—The action in this is continuous and rapid, and its duration in time corresponds to the act itself. Çakuntalā and her attendants arrive at the palace and are received, but she is rejected by the king because his mind is clouded by the Sage's curse, and Çakuntalā has not the enchanted ring to restore his memory. Immediately upon her repudiation she is carried away to heaven by a shining apparition.

Time of the fifth act, duration of the action itself, i. e. part of a day.

Interval of several years.

An interval of several years must be assumed to elapse at some time after Act v., in order to account for the fact that the child who is about to be born of Çakuntalā at the close of this act is old enough in the seventh act to appear on the stage dragging a lion's cub by the ears. There is some difficulty, however, at first in deciding whether the interval might not have been regarded by the poet as elapsing between Act vi. and Act. vii. rather than here. This is of course allowing that the poet had some intention in the matter, and did not simply content himself with conveying a general impression of time passing—which is not impossible. A study of the play tends to show that there are convincing grounds for placing the interval just here.

Up to the present point, for example, we know that Çakuntalā's rejection by the king was due to the influence of the Rishi's curse and to her having unfortunately lost the ring of reunion. The ring itself has just been recovered when the Prelude to Act vi. opens. A fisherman had found it in the maw of a fish he had caught. How long the ring may have been supposed to have lain in the fish's belly is not alluded to in the play. It is natural to suppose that the time was considerable, as this

interval would allow for the birth and growth of the child and would make the restoration of the king to his senses still more dramatic. The presence of the Prelude (*praveśaka*), moreover, is in favor of this, as the Prelude is a conventional device also to indicate the lapse of time at a given point. But there are still stronger grounds, as given below, for not separating Act vi. and Act vii., which would weaken the structure dramatically, and for allowing the break to be made here.

The only ground that might be taken against such an interpretation is that in Act vi. the two maidens who have been sent to the king's palace a 'few days' before (*kuti diahāim*, p. 193) seem to speak of the 'gossip of Çakuntalā's repudiation' (*çakuntalāpratyādeṣakāulīnam*, p. 194) and the news of the recovery of the ring (*aṅgulīadumśanam*, p. 194), as if they were items of recent interest. But this is no real argument after all. The mere fact of the girls' having been at the palace but 'a few days' does not militate against the possibility that the ring may equally well have been found some years after the repudiation of Çakuntalā: the incident would recall the old gossip. For this reason also, as well as for the others given below, it seems best to place the interval here, where the Prelude would also imply that it is to be placed, rather than later on. Windisch, I see, likewise places the interval at this point. [Kale, however, does not.]

Act VI.—Having assumed now that a long interval has elapsed, we may note that the action opens once more at the time of the vernal festival (cf. *vasantotsave*, p. 192). The king, who has regained his senses on seeing the ring, now suffers distress and sleeplessness from grief because he had repudiated Çakuntalā (p. 194 seq.), of whom he has drawn a portrait from memory (p. 194 seq.). The act closes with the assurance that it will be 'not long' (*aireṇa*, p. 222) before he shall embrace his beloved, and at this instant he is summoned to heaven to do battle in behalf of the gods against the demons.

Time of the sixth act, apparently part of a day.

Act VII.—The closing act of the play is the one which brings about the reunion of the hero and heroine in the presence of their little boy, who is quite a lad. The two grounds alluded to above for not allowing any interval, more than a day, to separate Act vii. from Act vi. may be taken up at this point. In the first place, Act vi. closes with the promise of a speedy meeting between

Dushyanta and Çakuntalā (*airena*, p. 222). But there is more than that. The remark of Dushyanta himself to his charioteer Mātali, in this act, is the second reason. The text runs : ‘Good Mātali, in my eagerness to fight against the demons, when I was ascending into the sky yesterday (*pūrvedyur*, p. 234), I did not take note of the path to heaven.’ This ‘yesterday’ conveys the idea that the battle was swiftly despatched and the victory quickly gained, which is natural in divine warfare. For this reason, as mentioned above, we are forced to place the time of Act vii. on the day after Act. vi., and to allow the interval for the birth and growth of the child to stand only after Act vi. This, as already stated, makes the dramatic structure of the close of the play more compact.

Some attempt might be made to locate the interval in question between Act vi. and Act vii. instead of after Act vi., but it could hardly be carried through successfully. It might be argued, for example, that the warfare against the demons lasted longer, and that *pūrvedyur* ‘yesterday’ is used only in a general way to represent events that cover a long period as having occurred in a short time, in accordance with the canon of the *Sāhitya-darpana*, cited above. A slight color of possibility might furthermore be given to such a claim inasmuch as a variant reading in Pischel’s footnotes (p. 149), from manuscripts SN1y, offers *pūrvam dūram* instead of *pūrvedyur*. This would mean ‘when I formerly mounted into the far-off heaven,’ and the ‘formerly’ might be interpreted with latitude enough to cover some lapse of time for the war and the birth of the child. But such an attempt could hardly meet with approval, on the grounds brought forward above, and an hypothesis of an interval here is not so consistent with the text and the idea of the play.

Time of the seventh act, part of the next day.

Summary of the duration of the action of Çakuntalā.

Act i., part of one day. 1

Act ii., part of the next day. 1

[Interval—very slight.]

Act iii., part of an afternoon towards dusk. 1

[Interval—a number of months.]

Act iv., part of a day, from before dawn until the sun is high. 1

[Interval—probably two or three days.]

Act v., part of one day. 1

[Interval of several years—see discussion
above.]

Act vi., apparently part of a day. 1

Act vii., part of next day—see discussion above. 1

Thus, the first four acts cover somewhat less than a year. Several years have elapsed by the beginning of the seventh act. This interval is to be placed between Act v. and Act vi. Duration of the action, hardly less than a half dozen years.

3. Vikramorvaṣī.

Plot of the play in brief : King Purūravas rescues the nymph Urvaṣī, who has been carried away by the demons, and he wins her love. The story of their accidental separation later and of their reunion in the presence of their son, who is now about twelve years of age, forms the subject of the last two acts of the play. Number of acts, five. The time analysis of this drama, however, is more difficult than that of the other two; an interval of over a dozen years, perhaps thirteen, must elapse during its action.

Act I.—King Purūravas rescues Urvaṣī from the demons; she and her attendant nymphs safely return to the sky (pp. 1–25). From the allusions to the plants, the pleasure garden, and the advent of spring, in this and the following act, the vernal season is intended to be represented (cf. such allusions *ladāviḍave*, p. 23; *vasantāvadāra*, Act. ii., p. 36, etc.).—I notice that Kale, p. 25, concludes that “the events in the first act seem to refer to the first or second day of Caitra, as the creepers have not yet fully resumed their vernal beauty.” He reads that interpretation into the comparison *grīr ivārtavī*, p. 20, and similarly the image *visāhāsahido via*, p. 29.

Time of the first act, part of one day in the early spring.

Interval of a few days? It is not quite certain that any appreciable time elapses between Act i. and Act ii., but we have some reasons for thinking that a few days may be supposed to have separated them. In the first place, the queen notices the king's abstracted demeanor, and her attendant devises a scheme to discover the cause (pp. 26–27). This is not important in itself, but it may be combined with an allusion made by the Vidūshaka in Act iii. (which follows directly after Act ii.) to the king's

having grown appreciably thinner (*jahā parihiāmānehim aṅgehim sohasi*, p. 67). We may further add to this, Urvaṅī's allusion to an occurrence at the time of her rescue by 'then' (*tadā*) in some editions (e. g. Pandit, p. 36 ; but not in the *Nirṇaya-Sāgara*, p. 38, nor in Bollensen, p. 22), as well as the king's words to her, 'when you were seen before' (*dr̥ṣṭapūrvā*, p. 47) and the maid's 'from the time that' (*jado....tado*, p. 26-27)—all of which seems to allow possibly for a few days having intervened before Urvaṅī and the king were again together. On the contrary, it may be urged that these allusions are not of importance for defining the time, and that the enamored Urvaṅī would probably have taken the earliest opportunity to return to earth to see the king.—I find that Windisch, p. 47, does not allow for any interval here, but places Act ii. on the day after Act i. On the other hand, Kale, p. 26, believes in the interval. He thinks (as noted above) that the opening of the play is to be laid at the beginning of the month Caitra (see above), and he is of the opinion that "the description of the moonrise in the third act evidently refers to the fourth day of the dark half of a month (probably Caitra), which is a fasting day and on which the moon appears like a *khaṇḍamodaka*. About a fortnight's interval seems to have gone between Urvaṅī's first meeting with the king and her second visit to him. The events of the third act immediately succeed those related in the previous act." He judges (p. 25) that "the business in the first three acts, each of which describes a day's events, is accomplished in about twenty days."

Act II.—The opening of this act is apparently in the forenoon after the king has come from the hall of justice (cf. *dhammāsana-gado*, p. 26), and the time is about 'the sixth watch' when the sun is 'in the middle of the sky' (cf. *vyomamadhyaḥ saṣṭhe kāle*, p. 30). This is ordinarily understood to mean the hour about noon (see also the discussion in the notes to the edition by G. B. Vaidya, p. 110) ; but M. R. Kale (p. 88) argues in favor of making the time as early as 9 A. M. The succeeding action in this scene is rapid: Urvaṅī descends from heaven to meet Purūravas, but she is shortly afterwards summoned back to the sky by the voice of a divine messenger who calls upon her to take part in a drama that is to be played 'to day' (*adyā*, p. 50) before the gods. At this juncture the Vidūshaka makes allusion to the fact that the hour for the midday 'bath and meal' (*nānabhojanam*, p. 58) has arrived ; the king expresses surprise

that 'half the day is already gone' (*katham ardham gataṁ divasasya*, p. 58).

Time of the second act, hardly more than an hour.

Act III.—The Prelude to this act opens apparently on the same day as Act iii., merely allowing time for the play in heaven meanwhile to have been performed, if we are to conceive of celestial hours as corresponding in this particular case to the earthly time of day. The act itself begins towards dusk, when 'the close of the day' is at hand (*divasāvāsāma*, p. 63), when the king's 'twilight-devotions' are accomplished (*saṁdhyākāryaṁ*, p. 63), the peacocks begin to drowse, the torches and lamps are brought, and the moon appears.

There are several reasons for believing that the action takes place on the same day as the events of Act ii., and that no appreciable interval separates these acts. In the second act, for instance, the celestial play was to be played 'to-day' (*adya*, p. 50) when Urvaṣī was summoned to heaven about noon; and the Prelude of Act iii. seems to treat the play as something that has just taken place, and the two pupils of Bharata apologize for having overstaid 'the holy ablution time' (cf. *ahiseaṇelā*, p. 62) of their sage preceptor. This would carry on the noontide impression of the preceding act, and allow for nightfall to approach after the Prelude and at the beginning of the act itself, as duly noted above. From the fact, moreover, that Urvaṣī during the heavenly play was cursed to descend to earth, it is likely that she would seek to join Purūravas as soon as possible, and she appears on the stage near the beginning of Act iii., shortly after the king has come in. For that reason also no interval. A further ground for making the events of Act iii. fall on the afternoon of the same day as Act ii. is that Purūravas, although sad, has managed to pass the day, doubtless because he has seen Urvaṣī, but he dreads the night (*katham nu rātrir gamitavyā*, p. 64), which may imply that a night has not yet intervened.

By the middle of the act itself the moon is well up, the queen prepares the rite of propitiatory worship of her husband, and the nymphs Urvaṣī and Citralekhā have been some time by the king's side, so that the Vidūshaka jestingly inquires whether they have been present ever since sunset (*katham iha jjeva tumhāṇaṁ atthamido sūro*, p. 80). By the end of the act it is time for retiring (cf. *gehappavesa*, p. 83), and Purūravas and Urvaṣī are at last united.

Time of the third act, from evening until bedtime, and apparently on the same day as Act ii.

From what has been shown we may assume that the first three acts follow each other directly, with the possible slight pause between Act i. and Act ii. The time of the year is the spring. It must now be observed that at the close of Act iii., when Citralekhā bids Urvaṅī farewell, she must go and serve the Sun in 'the summer season which follows upon the spring' (p. 81), and she enjoins upon Purūravas to treat Urvaṅī in such a way that she may not pine for heaven. This same service on the Sun is referred to at the beginning of Act iv., but there are some difficulties connected with the entire allusion, according to the commentators, as noted below.

Interval of twelve years or more?

An interval of more than a dozen years must be assumed to have elapsed at this point in order to account for the presence of the son of Purūravas and Urvaṅī in the fifth act as a youth of twelve years of age or more. This lapse can only be placed here, as no appreciable interval can be shown to separate the fourth and fifth acts. Further discussion of the point is reserved for a paragraph below.

Act. IV.—The preceding act closed with the union of Purūravas and Urvaṅī and with the departure of Citralekhā to take her turn as attendant upon the Sun (p. 81). At this point, therefore, we find the *praveśaka* or Prelude of Act iv. brought in, like other introductory scenes of this kind, to indicate a lapse of time.

The hour when the Prelude scene opens is supposed to be shortly before dawn (*udāāhivassa bhaavado sujḡassa*, p. 90); Citralekhā has just returned from her period of divine solar service. How long this service is supposed to have lasted is not told, and here we must pause for discussion. Usually such attendance is understood to represent a month; but from what follows it is plain that Kālidāsa, at this point in his drama, wishes to convey the impression that a considerable lapse of time has taken place. Has he therefore used invention? Recent commentators, like Pandit (p. 92-94), Vaidya (p. 162), and Kale (p. 125), draw attention to the fact that Citralekhā's name does not occur in the list of nymphs whose duty it is to serve the Sun; they also point out that even if she were to take her friend Urvaṅī's place in the list, the service during the summer season is ordinarily assigned

to Menakā and Sahajanyā, both of whom appear in our play. On critical grounds, therefore, they conclude that Citralekhā's term of attendance on the Sun is an invention of the poet's imagination. If this be true, and if Kālidāsa has created an office for Citralekhā out of his own fancy, we are equally entitled, in the same critical way, to go further and believe that he invented the fiction and colored it with an express purpose. This object was to make the service on the Sun seem to be of long duration and the corresponding period of Citralekhā's separation from Urvaṣī, during the latter's sojourn on earth, match this in length of time. In the very opening lines of the Prelude, Citralekhā emphasizes how greatly she misses Urvaṣī (p. 86), and her distress is the greater because she has discovered, by divine intuition, the calamity that has befallen her beloved friend 'in these days' (*imesuṁ divaseṣuṁ*, p. 87).

The calamity was this, and it is worth recording as some inference as to time may be drawn from it. According to her story, Urvaṣī and Purūravas had left the capital of Pratiṣṭhāna, and had gone to the Gandhamādana forest for a pleasure trip after the king 'had laid the weight of the affairs of state upon his ministers' (*amacesu nihidakajjadhuraṁ*, p. 87). We are not told how long this was after the marriage; but time must have elapsed in the forest, since we are informed that while in the wood the king chanced to cast a glance at a semi-divine maiden, which made Urvaṣī so intensely angry that she forthwith abandoned the king. Wandering in her jealous rage, she unwittingly entered the charmed Kumāra park, whose sacred precincts women were forbidden to enter, and she paid the fatal penalty of being transformed into a vine. According to one of the Purāṇa legends she remained fifty-five years in this condition, but no such time, of course, is implied in the play. The Prelude only tells us that the frenzied king roams about seeking 'day and night' (*ahorattarṁ*, p. 89) for his darling in the forest; but the comforting assurance is added that 'such admirable persons are not to experience misery long' (*na . . . ciraṁ*, p. 89), although the king in addressing Urvaṣī afterwards refers to it as 'a long separation' (*ciraviyogam*, p. 118).

At this point in Citralekhā's story the fourth act itself begins. The action is unbroken, and it is devoted to the somewhat too prolonged lyrical lamentation of Purūravas, who is hopelessly seeking his lost beloved. The season is the opening of the rainy

period which follows directly after the heated term of summer (cf. *mehodaṇa*, p. 89; *jaladharasamayaṇi*, p. 93, etc.), and the frenzied lover wanders through the forest in quest of the nymph until accidentally he lights upon the 'jewel of reunion' (*saṅga-maṇi maṇi*, p. 119). This talisman restores Urvaṅī to her true form and unites the lovers, who proceed at once to the capital of Pratiṣṭhāna.

The duration of the act itself is continuous, and seems to occupy a day at the beginning of the rainy season. A single moment out of the time of the separation of the lovers during their forest sojourn is chosen as a type of the rest. This is in harmony with the *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa* canons for bringing the events of a longer period into a briefer compass. The time of the lovers' separation, as noticed above, may have been considerable; the time of their forest sojourn must have been long. Beside the king's allusion at the close of the act to 'long separation' (*ciraviyogaṇi*, p. 118), Urvaṅī herself likewise says 'it is indeed a long time since we left Pratiṣṭhāna' (*mahanto kkhū kālo amhāṇaṇi paṭṭhāṇado niggaḍḍaṇaṇi*, p. 119); and at the beginning of the fifth act the Vidūṣhaka furthermore refers to the king's having been absent from the city for a long time (*cirassa kālassa*, p. 121).

Time of the fourth act, supposed to be one day in the rainy season.

Act V.—No interval divides this act from the foregoing, in which Purūravas and Urvaṅī had started for the royal city. The present act, as closing the drama, brings before the happy pair their youthful son Āyu, who has already passed through the 'first stage of his education and is now ready to enter upon the second' (*uṣitaṃ tvaṃ pūrvasmīn ācrame, dvitīyam adhyāsitaṃ tvaṃ samāyāḥ*, p. 132), 'being fully able now to wear armor' (*sam-padaṇi kavacāruho saṃvutto*, p. 131). The youth is prepared as heir-apparent to assume from his father the duties of the state, but he still retains enough of his childish forest love to beg to take with him the peacock (p. 132) which has been his favorite companion in the lonely hermit grove.

Enough has been given to show that in the last two acts Kālidāsa sufficiently indicates in a general way the long lapse of time which must have taken place after Act iii. That is all that a dramatic poet can be asked to do. The critic who tries to make too minute search into the matter will often be baffled by the lack of details which the poet does not choose to give. Thus

these two acts, for example, do not tell us at what moment in their married life Purūravas and Urvaṅī became separated by the nymph's being transformed into a vine, nor is there a direct statement as to how long she remained so. Again, we do not know whether the entire length of the years that elapsed after Act iii. was supposed to be spent in the forest, or whether the lovers lived part of the time in the palace. It seems more likely that Kālidāsa intended to convey the idea that the whole time was passed in the forest. It must have been twelve years or more. But was Citralekhā all this time serving the Sun? This is probably what Kālidāsa meant us to believe, if any period be implied; and the suggestion offered above to interpret this as a piece of invention employed as a dramatic device to give an impression of the transition of time will explain away any objections that may be made on this point, such as those raised by Vaidya, pp. 191-192, where several difficulties in time are discussed.

But beside these allusions to the transition of time, there is one other that conveys the impression, if we are quick enough to catch the reference (noted by S. Pandit, p. 122 [135]; Vaidya, 191; Kale, p. 147). The king is surprised to find he has a son by Urvaṅī, because he never recalls having been absent from her 'except on the occasion of the Naimiṣa sacrifice' (*anyatra naimiṣayasattrād*—for such is the better reading and not *animiṣyā* 'celestial nymph,' as the *Nirṇaya-Sāgara* edition has, p. 126). It was during this very sacrifice that the child was born and placed by its mother in a hermitage to be brought up. So far as the poet gave the matter any thought, he probably imagined the nymph to have joined the king again after this and after his having finished his ritual ceremony. The episode of their misunderstanding and of Urvaṅī's transformation into a vine followed later. There is no real necessity, as Kale points out (p. 147), for claiming that the Naimiṣa sacrifice is actually supposed to have occupied a dozen years. But if it did, we may then agree with Shankar Pandit (p. 122 [135]), and Vaidya (p. 192), that Kālidāsa is simply taking advantage of a poet's privilege and passing over a dozen years in imagination, but is giving an "appearance of reality" to this interval (as Pandit observes) by mentioning the sacrifice.

If these latter points be rightly taken, we may have in Kālidāsa something like what has been called Christopher North's 'two

clocks' in Shakspeare. Shakspeare, it is claimed, often uses allusions or references to accelerate or retard the action at will. At one moment he seems to give it speed ; at another he throws in some hint to hold it back or to convey the notion of a lapse of time. He adroitly plays tricks on us before our eyes ; we do not notice the inconsistency in the lapse or non-lapse of time until we study the play carefully and find out how we have been deceived. So it is with Kālidāsa. The allusion in the first two acts to the spring and the reference at the close of the third act to Citralekhā's service in summer upon the Sun, as well as that in the fourth act with its reference to autumn, all give the impression of a direct sequence of the seasons. And yet we know from the fifth act that there must have been an interval of a number of years between the third and the fourth acts. The invention of Citralekhā's summer attendance and the reference to the Naimisha sacrifice are but parts of Kālidāsa's extensive apparatus, which he never could have imagined that students would take the trouble to examine into microscopically. But having done so, we are ready now to summarize.

Summary of the duration of the action of the *Vikramorvaṇī*.

Act i., part of one day.	1
[Interval—certainly not long, perhaps a week or two.]	
Act ii., midday of one day.	} 1
Act iii., afternoon and evening of the same day.	
[Interval of 12 years or more.]	
Act iv., indefinite, but condensed into a single day in the rainy season.	1
Act v., part of one day—apparently the next day.	1

Thus, Acts i., ii., iii., cover part of a month in the spring time. An interval of twelve years or more elapses. Acts iv. and v. comprise two successive days.

In conclusion, we may say that Kālidāsa employs numerous time allusions for dramatic purposes and with dramatic effect ; a vivid imagination like his must have followed the time of the action of his events in their general outlines, but study leads me to believe that he probably did not pay much more attention to minute details in the matter of time than did Shakspeare. The

Sanskrit drama and the Elizabethan stage resemble each other with regard to the unity of time. The five acts of Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* are comprised within about a week; the action of Shakspeare's *Romeo and Juliet* likewise covers about the same length of time. On the other hand, as in the *Cymbeline* and the *Winter's Tale*, years elapse between the first and last acts of the *Ākuntalā* and the *Vikramorvaṣī*. A Kālidāsa and a Shakspeare, despite the objections which a critic may raise, allow the hero and the heroine to meet and fall in love at the opening of the drama and to have their son appear as a well grown youth at the close of the play. Āyu and Sarvadamana are the Guidarius and Aviragus of the Hindu stage; and it has been worth while, owing to the likeness to Shakspeare, to enter into the workshop of Kālidāsa's mind and to see in detail what use he made of time allusions in his plays.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,
AT ITS
MEETING IN CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,
1899.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society for 1899 was held in Cambridge, Mass., on Thursday and Friday of Easter week, April 6th and 7th.

The following members were in attendance at one or more of the sessions :

Arbeely	Gilman	Lawler	Schnuyler
Atkinson	Goodwin	Lilley	Torrey
Barton	Gottheil	Lyon	Toy
Brooks, Miss	Gray	Macdonald	Ward, W. H.
Brown, F.	Haupt	Michelson	Warren, W. F.
Carus	Higginson	Moore	Winslow
Channing, Miss	Hopkins	Morse	Wright, J. H.
Crane, Mrs.	Jackson	Moxom	Wright, T. F.
Driscoll	Jastrow, M., Jr.	Orne	Young
Elwell	Kellner	Oertel	[Total, 45.]
Everett	Kent	Ropes	
Fanning	Lanman, C. R.	Smith	
<hr style="width: 20%; margin: 10px auto;"/>			
James	Janes	Newell	Platner [4]

The Society met on Thursday morning at half past ten o'clock in the room of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University, University Hall, and was called to order by its President, President Daniel Coit Gilman, of the Johns Hopkins University.

The reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting, held in Hartford, Conn., April 14th, 15th, and 16th, 1898, was dispensed with.

The report of the Committee of Arrangements was presented by Professor Lanman, who laid before the Society a printed program, with a recommendation that the afternoon sessions begin at

three o'clock and the morning sessions at half past nine o'clock, and that the session on Friday afternoon be set apart for the reading of papers relating to the history of religions. An invitation was extended by the Cambridge members of the Society to the visiting members to lunch with them at the Colonial Club on Thursday at half past one o'clock; an invitation was also presented from President Eliot to luncheon on Friday at the same hour. The recommendations were adopted, and the invitations accepted with the thanks of the Society.

A letter was read from Professor C. E. Norton, inviting the Society to meet at his house on Friday evening. Other arrangements having been made for that evening, Professor Lanman was requested to convey to Professor Norton the regrets of the Society that it was unable to accept his kind invitation.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were duly elected :¹

HONORARY MEMBERS.

James Burgess, 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland.
Edward W. West, Maple Lodge, Watford (Herts), England.

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Rev. Henry Mason Baum, New York, N. Y.
Rev. E. Brennecke, New York, N. Y.
Dr. George A. Grierson, London, England.
Prof. Edward A. Grosvenor, Amherst, Mass.
Rev. H. W. Hoffman, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Prof. George L. Kittredge, Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. George W. Knox, Rye, N. Y.
Rev. J. W. Loch, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Mr. Albert Morton Lythgoe, Cambridge, Mass.
Mr. William Arnot Mather, Hartford, Conn.
Rev. John McFadyen, Toronto, Canada.
Mr. Truman Michelson, Cambridge, Mass.
Dr. Warren J. Moulton, New Haven, Conn.
Mr. Montgomery Schuyler, Jr., New York, N. Y.
Dr. Charles H. Shannon, Chicago, Ills.
Mr. Hans Spoer, Astoria, N. Y.
Prof. Charles C. Stearns, Hartford, Conn.
Mr. Henry Osborn Taylor, New York, N. Y.
Mr. J. M. Trout, Hartford, Conn.
Rev. Elwood Worcester, Ph.D., Philadelphia, Pa. [Total, 20.]

¹ For convenience, the names of those who were elected at a later session are included in this list. The full addresses are given in the revised list of members, p. 372 ff.

MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

Rev. Dr. E. N. Calisch, Richmond, Va.

Rev. J. L. Chandler, Madura, India.

Mr. Samuel Dickson, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. Roland P. Dixon, Cambridge, Mass.

Prof. George S. Goodspeed, Chicago, Ills.

Dr. C. B. Gulick, Cambridge, Mass.

Prof. William James, Cambridge, Mass.

Dr. Lewis G. Janes, Cambridge, Mass.

Rev. Dr. F. P. Jones, Pasumalai, India.

Prof. J. Winthrop Platner, Cambridge, Mass.

[Total, 10.]

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Hopkins, in reporting the correspondence of the year, announced *inter alia* that he had received from Oriental scholars a number of letters containing information of interest to the Society, and read to the Society several extracts, as follows: From Mr. Gaupatram G. Shastri of Ahmedâbâd, a letter containing details of the life of the late Professor Bühler, with a long account of the work he had done as Educational Inspector. Prof. Bühler in this report is said to be "still looked upon as one of the best Educational Inspectors of the Division. He rooted out the disorder which had crept into the schools before him, did much towards employing a larger number of University men as teachers in English schools, admirably revised the Training College code, and improved the position of the teachers of Primary Schools. He deserves, too, the credit of formulating standards for Inferior Village Schools," etc., etc. The account is noteworthy as showing Prof. Bühler's ability and energy on other than academic lines. A letter from Mr. Stein, Principal of the English University in Lahore, gave an account of his work in exploration, and of the curious manuscripts and block-prints in a variety of unknown characters of which Dr. Hoernle has already published specimens. The archæological finds, as Dr. Stein says, show the unmistakable connection of Buddhist art in Turkestan with the style of Gandhâra. From India, also, Dr. Grierson sends word of the progress in his gigantic task of surveying the whole linguistic field, which when completed will be a monumental record; and Mr. Apte writes: "You will be glad to know that my work in connection with the analysis of the Mahabharat is progressing pretty well, and a more or less complete analysis of the Ramayan on the same line is almost ready. . . . Of course my analysis is based upon the Southern, or rather the Deccan, recension of the Epic only." An interesting communication from Mr. Burgess gives that high authority's opinion in regard to the age of the Sânci *toranas* or gateways as "not later than 150 B. C., possibly some of them a little earlier." A letter of Prof. Ludwig, in reply to one from the Secretary informing him of his election as an Honorary Member of the Society, was also read.

The report of the Treasurer, Mr. Henry C. Warren, deceased, for the year 1898, was read by his assistant, Miss Sarah W. Brooks. The Auditing Committee reported as follows:

The undersigned, appointed a Committee to audit the books and accounts of the late Treasurer of the American Oriental Society for the year ending Dec. 31, 1898, find the same to be properly kept and correctly cast. They find the entries for all monies expended by the Treasurer to be properly vouched, and satisfactory evidence that all funds and balances reported in his statement are in the possession of his executor, Mr. Samuel D. Warren.

[Signed] C. H. TOY,
D. G. LYON,
C. R. LANMAN.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., Jan. 12, 1899.

The analytical summary of the General Account is as follows:

RECEIPTS.

Balance from General Account, Dec. 31, 1897.....	\$1,273.43
Assessments (200) for 1898.....	1,000.00
Assessments (43) for other years.....	181.00
Sales of publications.....	137.07
Income from funds other than Bradley Type Fund..	136.58
Total income for the year.....	\$1,454.65
Life Membership fee.....	75.00
Total receipts for the year.....	\$2,803.08

EXPENDITURES.

Matrices and electros	\$ 10.70
Aug. 1898, 16 reams paper at \$3.30	52.80
Journal, vol. xix, part 2, printing 503 copies	533.83
“ “ “ binding	81.64
“ “ “ distribution	39.83
Cash book.....	3.50
Honorarium to editor.....	100.00
Job-printing.....	39.20
Postage, etc.	33.50
Total disbursements for the year.....	\$ 895.00
Life Membership fee deposited in Suffolk Savings Bank	75.00
Credit balance on Gen'l Account, Dec. 31, 1898,	1,833.08
	\$2,803.08

The statement of the financial condition of the Society accompanied the report. From this it appears that the income of the

Society in the year 1898 was \$1,454.65, about \$200 less than in the preceding year. This apparent falling off is explained by the fact that in 1897 three parts of the Journal were published, in 1898 but one, and that the sales of the Journal in the latter year were correspondingly less. The income from other sources than the sale of the Journal was about \$18 more than in 1897.

For the same reason the expenditures of the year (\$895) were less than half those of the previous year. The apparent deficit of about \$400 reported last year, due to the fact that vol. xix. 1 (the Whitney Memorial volume) was paid for in 1897 though properly chargeable to 1898 (see xix. 2, p. 164), has thus disappeared, and there remains a balance to this year's account of about \$150. But this favorable showing is again due to the substitution of the Whitney Memorial for a regular half volume of the Journal. Experience shows that if the publication of the Journal is to be permanently continued on the present plan, the annual income of the Society must be increased by at least \$300.

The state of the funds is as follows:

A. PRINCIPAL OF SPECIAL FUNDS.

Dec. 31, 1897. Dec. 31, 1898.

I. Bradley Type Fund (deposited in New Haven Savings Bank)	\$1,669.76	\$1,737.20
II. Cotheal Publication Fund (deposited in the Provident Institution for Savings, Boston) ..	1,000.00	1,000.00
III. Eight shares of State National Bank stock ..	1,000.00	1,000.00
IV. Life Membership Fund (deposited in the Suffolk Savings Bank, Boston)	75.00	150.00

B. BALANCES BELONGING TO GENERAL ACCOUNT.

V. Cash in Cambridge Savings Bank	\$1,075.56	\$1,595.35
VI. Cash in Provident Inst. for Savings, Boston ..	171.75	218.10
VII. Cash in Suffolk Savings Bank, Boston	16.12	19.98
VIII. Cash on hand	10.00	4.65
	<u>\$5,018.19</u>	<u>\$5,720.28</u>

The annual report of the Librarian, Mr. Van Name, showed that the accessions to the library during the past year have been 59 volumes, 81 parts of volumes, 18 pamphlets, and one manuscript. The whole number of titles is now 4897, and of manuscripts, 188.

The Editor of the Journal, Professor Moore, reported that the publication of Volume XX, First Half, for January-July, 1899, which should have been issued in January, had been delayed by unforeseen difficulties to the end of March. Full indexes to the twenty volumes of the Journal and Proceedings are in an advanced state of preparation, and it is expected that they will be issued as the First Half of Volume XXI. The attention of the Society was called to the following paragraphs from the preliminary circular :

The experience of the editor shows that, if the Journal is to appear promptly twice a year, he must ask that, unless by special agreement a later term is fixed, the manuscript of all papers intended for publication be sent to him before May 15, in order that a plan for the contents of the two numbers may be made which shall secure the best arrangement of the articles at the smallest expense, and that the printing may go on without interruption. This is the more necessary, since the papers on the History of Religions have to be reprinted together in a separate pamphlet.

Papers are frequently presented which are so related to current discussion or controversy that it is important that they should be published at once. In these cases, if the authors will give notice to the editor (with an estimate of the space to be reserved) before the meeting of the Society, he will endeavor to print such articles in the July number of the Journal. The manuscript must be ready for the printer immediately after the meeting; or when convenient, may be sent in and set up *before* the meeting.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Hopkins, reported that since its last meeting the Society has lost by death the following members:

HONORARY MEMBER.

Professor Georg Bühler, of Vienna University, April 8, 1898.

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Rev. Dr. Samuel F. Dike, Bath, Me., Jan. 8, 1899.

Hon. John M. Forbes, Boston, Mass., Oct. 12, 1898.

Mr. Henry Clarke Warren, Cambridge, Mass., Jan. 8, 1899.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

Dastur Jamaspji Miinocheherji Jamasp Asana, Bombay.

Professor Lanman read a memorial of the late Treasurer of the Society, Mr. Warren. Professor Hopkins spoke of our deceased Honorary Member, Professor Bühler. Professor Jackson made some remarks upon Mr. Jamaspji.

A letter was read by Professor Lanman from Mr. Epes Sargent Dixwell, the oldest resident member of the Society (1848), and was requested to convey to Mr. Dixwell the greetings of the Society. Col. Higginson was asked to send to Professor Edward E. Salisbury, of New Haven, Conn., a message of congratulation on his eighty-fifth birthday. Professor Lanman was asked to send by cable the salutations of the assembled Society to His Excellency, Otto von Böttlingk, of Leipsic, its oldest Honorary Member (1844).

The President appointed Messrs. W. H. Ward, C. H. Toy, and F. Brown a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

Communications were then laid before the Society, as follows:

Professor Barton read "Notes on Psalms xlv. and xlv." (No. 2).¹

Professor Gottheil presented a paper by Dr. I. M. Casanowicz, "Two Hebrew Manuscripts" (No. 5), a description of manuscripts in the possession of Professor Hyvernatt.

For the Committee on a Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in America, Professor Gottheil reported progress, noting particularly the descriptions furnished by Professor Hyvernatt of manuscripts in Washington, in the Library of the Catholic University and in his own collection, and also of part of the Hodgson Collection. The committee was continued.

Mr. Louis H. Gray discussed "Certain parallel developments in Pāli and New Persian phonology" (No. 9).

Professor Haupt read a paper on "The name Jerusalem" (No. 12).

At one o'clock the Society took recess till three.

At three o'clock the Society assembled, and the reading of communications was resumed.

Professor Morse discussed the question, "Was the American stringed instrument pre-Columbian?" (No. 26).

Professor Hopkins presented "Addenda and Corrigenda" (No. 16).

Professor Jackson read a paper "On certain dramatic elements in Sanskrit plays" (No. 17).

Professor Lanman, on "Indian proverbs which occur both in Sanskrit and in Pāli books" (No. 23).

Professor Lyon, on "The identification of *alallu* as a kind of stone" (No. 25).

Prof. Torrey, on "The story of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury in still older form" (No. 31).

Professor Barton, on "Contract No. 7 in Meissner's *Altbabylonisches Privatrecht*" (No. 3).

Professor Haupt, on "The vowels of the preformatives of the imperfect in Semitic" (No. 13).

At 5.40 the Society adjourned.

The Society met on Friday morning at ten o'clock.

A letter was read from Mr. Dixwell, replying to the salutations of the Society.

Professor Hopkins read a paper on "Epic metres in Sanskrit" (No. 14).

Professor Jastrow, on "The tearing of garments as a symbol of mourning" (No. 20).

Professor Gottheil, on "Some new Palmyrene inscriptions" (No. 8), and on a "Hebrew inscription on a tombstone."

¹ See List of Papers Presented, below, p. 370.

Mr. Schuyler, on "The *vidūṣaka* as a conventional character in the Sanskrit plays of Harsadeva" (No. 30).

Professor T. F. Wright, on "Saph and Tell el-Sāfi" (No. 34).

Professor Haupt presented a communication by Dr. Christopher Johnston on "A recent interpretation of the Letter of an Assyrian Princess" (No. 21).

Professor Lyon read a note on "A record of a Babylonian lawsuit" (No. 24).

Prof. Torrey read a paper on "Three unpublished letters attributed to Simeon the Stylite" (No. 32).

Col. Higginson read a letter from Professor Salisbury in response to the greetings of the Society :

MY DEAR MR. HIGGINSON :

It was pleasant to me to receive the greetings of the American Oriental Society to-day by your hand. Accept my thanks to you personally, and thank the Society in due form for me for its friendly remembrance ; with my congratulations on what it has grown to be from its small beginnings of more than fifty years ago.

Sincerely yours,

EDW'D E. SALISBURY.

At half past twelve o'clock the Society took recess till three.

At three o'clock the Society met.

Professor Lanman reported for the Directors, that they had voted to express the readiness of this Society to participate in a Second American Congress of Philologists, like that held in Philadelphia in 1894, and to indicate their preference that it be held in the Christmas vacation of 1900, in the city of New York ; also that they had appointed the next annual meeting of the Society to be held in Philadelphia, on April 19, 20, and 21, 1900.

Further, that they had designated Professors Haupt, Jackson, Jastrow, and Lanman delegates to represent the Society at the Oriental Congress to be held in Rome, Oct. , 1899.

Also, that they had appointed Professor G. F. Moore, Editor of the Journal for the ensuing year.

The Directors recommended that By-Law V. be amended by the addition of the words, "unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation." By a unanimous vote of the Society this amendment was adopted.

The committee to nominate officers reported through Dr. W. H. Ward, and by unanimous consent the ballot of the Society was cast for the following officers for the ensuing year :

President—President Daniel Coit Gilman, of Baltimore.

Vice-Presidents—Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York ; Professor Crawford H. Toy, of Cambridge ; Professor Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge.

Corresponding Secretary—Professor Washburn Hopkins, of New Haven.

Recording Secretary—Professor George F. Moore, of Andover.

Secretary of the Section for Religions—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia.

Treasurer—Mr. Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.

Librarian—Mr. Addison Van Name of New Haven.

Directors—The officers above named: and President William R. Harper, of Chicago; Professors Richard Gottheil, A. V. W. Jackson, and Francis Brown, of New York; Professors Maurice Bloomfield and Paul Haupt, of Baltimore; and Professor Henry Hyvernatt, of Washington.

At half past three the reading of communications was resumed; Dr. Ward presiding. The session was devoted to papers belonging to the Section for the Historical Study of Religions.

Professor Everett read a paper on "The Psychology of the Vedanta and Sankhya systems" (No. 7).

Professor Toy, on "The relation between magic and religion" (No. 33).

Professor Haupt, on "Gog and Magog" (No. 11); and on the most recent volumes of the Polychrome Bible (Ezekiel and Joshua).

Mr. Arbeely, on "The Koran as seen by an Oriental Christian" (No. 1).

Professor Jackson, on "Ahriman, or the ancient Persian idea of the devil" (No. 18).

Professor Jastrow, on "The historical study of religions in American colleges and universities" (No. 19).

Mr. Newell, on "Mediæval fairy castles and the Isles of the Blest" (No. 27).

Professor Barton, on "Sacrifice among the Wakamba" (No. 4).

Professor Hopkins, on "The economics of religion" (No. 15).

Professor Lanman was authorized to remit to the publishers the sum of one hundred dollars (which was raised by subscription) as a subvention on the part of this Society to the *Orientalische Bibliographie*.

The following vote of thanks was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to express its sincere thanks to the Dean and Faculty of Harvard University for the use of their rooms; to President Eliot for his kind reception and pleasant hospitality; to Prof. Charles Eliot Norton for his friendly invitation; to the Cambridge members of the Society for their generous hospitality; and to the Committee of Arrangements for their efficient services.

At five o'clock the Society adjourned, to meet in Philadelphia, Pa., April 19, 1900.

The following is a list of the papers presented to the Society.

1. Mr. N. J. Arbeely, New York City ; The Koran as seen by an Oriental Christian.
2. Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College ; Some notes on Psalms xlv. and xlv.
3. Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College ; A note on Contract No. 7 in Meissner's *Altbabylonisches Privatrecht*.
4. Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College ; Sacrifice among the Wakamba in British East Africa.
5. Dr. I. M. Casanowicz, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. ; Two Hebrew manuscripts.
6. Prof. Hermann Collitz, Bryn Mawr College ; The etymology of Vedic *návedas*.
7. Prof. Charles C. Everett, Harvard University ; Psychology of the Vedanta and Sankhya systems.
8. Prof. Richard Gottheil, Columbia University ; Some new Palmyrene inscriptions.
9. Mr. Louis H. Gray, Columbia University ; Certain parallel developments in Pāli and New Persian phonology.
10. Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University ; Biblical medicine.
11. Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University ; Gog and Magog.
12. Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University ; The name Jerusalem.
13. Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University ; The vowels of the preformatives of the imperfect in Semitic.
14. Prof. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University ; Epic metres in Sanskrit.
15. Prof. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University ; Economics of primitive religion.
16. Prof. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University ; Addenda et corrigenda.
17. Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University ; Notes on certain dramatic elements in Sanskrit Plays. Second Series.
18. Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University ; Ahri-man, or the ancient Persian idea of the devil.

19. Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., University of Pennsylvania; The historical study of religions in American colleges and universities.

20. Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., University of Pennsylvania; The tearing of garments as a symbol of mourning among the ancient Hebrews and other Semites.

21. Dr. Christopher Johnston, Johns Hopkins University; A recent interpretation of the Letter of an Assyrian Princess.

22. Dr. Christopher Johnston, Johns Hopkins University; Lexicographical notes from the Assyrian Letters.

23. Prof. Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University; Indian proverbs which occur both in Sanskrit and in Pāli books.

24. Prof. D. G. Lyon, Harvard University; Record of a Babylonian law-suit.

25. Prof. D. G. Lyon, Harvard University; The identification of *alalhu* as a variety of stone.

26. Prof. Edward S. Morse, Salem, Mass.; Was the American stringed instrument pre-Columbian?

27. Mr. W. W. Newell, Cambridge, Mass.; Mediæval fairy castles and the Isles of the Blest.

28. Prof. Hanns Oertel, Yale University; On the relation of the Jāminiya Brāhmaṇa to the Pañcaviṅṣa Brāhmaṇa.

29. Mr. A. W. Stratton, Chicago University; Some notes on the Dhammapada.

30. Mr. Montgomery Schuyler, Jr., New York City; The *vidūṣaka* as a conventional character in the Sanskrit plays of Harśadeva.

31. Prof. Charles C. Torrey, Andover Theological Seminary; The story of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury in still older form.

32. Prof. Charles C. Torrey, Andover Theological Seminary; Three unpublished letters attributed to Simeon the Stylite.

33. Prof. C. H. Toy, Harvard University; The relation between magic and religion.

34. Prof. Theodore F. Wright, New Church Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.; Saph and Tell el-Šāfi.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

REVISED, DECEMBER, 1899.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

- M. AUGUSTE BARTH, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, France. (Rue Garancière, 10.) 1898.
- Prof. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887.
- His Excellency, OTTO VON BOEHTLINGK, Hospital Str. 25, Leipzig, Germany. 1844.
- JAMES BURGESS, LL.D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.
- Dr. ANTONIO MARIA CERIANI, Ambrosian Library, Milan, Italy. 1890.
- Prof. EDWARD B. COWELL, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England. Corresponding Member, 1863; Hon., 1893.
- Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRUECK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.
- Prof. M. J. DE GÖEJE, University of Leyden, Netherlands. (Vliet 15.) 1898.
- Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure, 24.) 1893.
- Prof. HENDRIK KERN, University of Leyden, Netherlands. 1893.
- Prof. FRANZ KIELHORN, University of Goettingen, Germany. (Hainholzweg 21.) 1887.
- Prof. ALFRED LUDWIG, University of Prague, Bohemia. (Celakowsky Str. 15.) 1898.
- Prof. GASTON MASPERO, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Avenue de l'Observatoire, 24.) 1898.
- Prof. Sir MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, Enfield House, Ventnor, Isle of Wight, England. 1882.
- The Rt. Hon. Prof. F. MAX MUELLER, University of Oxford, England. Corresponding Member, 1854; Hon., 1869.
- Prof. THEODOR NOELDEKE, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kalbsgasse 16.) 1878.
- Prof. JULES OPPERT, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Rue de Sfax, 2.) 1893.
- Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormser Str. 12, W.) 1887.
- Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
- Prof. EBERHARD SCHRADER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Kronprinzen-Ufer 20, N. W.) 1890.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH VON SPIEGEL, Munich, Germany. (Königin Str. 49.) Corresponding Member, 1863; Hon., 1869.
- Prof. CORNELIS P. TIELE, University of Leyden, Netherlands. 1898.

- Prof. ALBRECHT WEBER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Ritter Str. 56, S. W.) Corresponding Member, 1850; Hon., 1869.
 EDWARD W. WEST, Maple Lodge, Watford (Herts), England. 1899.
 Prof. ERNST WINDISCH, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitäts Str. 15.) 1890. [Total, 26.]

II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with + are those of life members.

- Dr. CYRUS ADLER, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1884.
 NAGEEB J. ARBEELY, 108 Broad St., New York, N. Y. 1893.
 Prof. EDWARD V. ARNOLD, University College of North Wales, Bangor, Great Britain. 1896.
 MRS. EMMA J. ARNOLD, 275 Washington St., Providence, R. I. 1894.
 Dr. WILLIAM R. ARNOLD, 136 West 79th St., New York, N. Y. 1893.
 Rev. EDWARD E. ATKINSON, Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
 IRVING BABBITT (Harvard Univ.), Dana Chambers, 37, Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
 Prof. BENJAMIN WISNER BACON (Yale Univ.), 30 Trumbull St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
 Prof. MARK BAILEY, JR. (State Univ. of Washington), 1019 Chestnut St., Seattle, Wash. 1891.
 Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 Miss ANNIE L. BARBER, Chestnut St., Meadville, Pa. 1892.
 DAVID P. BARNITZ, Des Moines, Iowa. 1898.
 Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
 Prof. L. W. BATTEN (Episcopal Divinity School), 4805 Regent St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.
 Rev. HENRY MASON BAUM, P. O. Box 1839, New York, N. Y. 1899.
 Rev. HARLAN P. BEACH, Montclair, N. J. 1898.
 Rev. JOSEPH F. BERG, Ph.D., Montgomery, Orange Co., N. Y. 1893.
 Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
 Prof. JOHN BINNEY, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.
 Rev. DAVID BLAUSTEIN, Educational Alliance, 197 East Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1891.
 FREDERICK J. BLISS, Ph.D., 38 Conduit St., London, England. 1898.
 Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
 Prof. CHARLES W. E. BODY (General Theological Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1897.
 Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, 4 Cours des Bastions, Geneva, Switzerland. 1897.
 Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1896.
 Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
 Rev. E. BRENNKE, 868 North Boulevard, New York, N. Y. 1899.
 Prof. CHAS. A. BRIGGS (Union Theol. Sem.), 120 West 93rd St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
 Miss SARAH W. BROOKS, 28 Inman St., Cambridgeport, Mass. 1896.
 Prof. CHAS. RUFUS BROWN, Newton Theological Institution, Newton Centre, Mass. 1886.

- Prof. FRANCIS BROWN (Union Theological Seminary), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1881.
- Prof. JOSEPH BRUNEAU, St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y. 1896.
- Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Prof. SYLVESTER BURNHAM, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1886.
- Pres. GEO. S. BURROUGHS, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. 1880.
- Prof. HENRY F. BURTON, Rochester University, Rochester, N. Y. 1881.
- Dr. W. CALAND, 5 Seeligsingel, Breda, Netherlands. 1897.
- Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.
- Rev. SIMON J. CARR, 242 South 20th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1892.
- Prof. A. S. CARRIER (McCormick Theological Seminary), 1042 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1890.
- Pres. FRANKLIN CARTER, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1873.
- Dr. PAUL CARUS, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.
- Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
- Miss EVA CHANNING, Exeter Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.
- Dr. FRANK DYER CHESTER, United States Consulate, Buda-Pesth, Hungary. 1891.
- CLARENCE H. CLARK, Locust and 42d Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1897.
- Rev. HENRY N. COBB, 25 East 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1875.
- Prof. CAMDEN M. COBERN, 1830 Sherman Ave., Denver, Colorado. 1894.
- WM. EMMETTE COLEMAN, Chief Quartermaster's Office, San Francisco, Cal. 1885.
- †GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1887.
- Miss ELIZABETH S. COLTON, Easthampton, Mass. 1896.
- SAMUEL VICTOR CONSTANT, 420 West 23d St., New York, N. Y. 1890.
- Dr. FREDERIC TABER COOPER, 177 Warburton Ave., Yonkers, N. Y. 1892.
- Miss LUTIE REBECCA CORWIN, 1280 Willson Ave., Cleveland, O. 1895.
- Mrs. OLIVER CRANE, 12 Concord Square, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- Mr. STEWART CULIN (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 127 South Front St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
- Prof. EDWARD L. CURTIS (Yale Univ.), 61 Trumbull St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Dr. CHARLES H. STANLEY DAVIS, Meriden, Conn. 1893.
- Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- LEE MALTBE DEAN, Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1897.
- LAURELL W. DEMERITT, 955 Greene Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1898.
- Dr. P. L. ARMAND DE POTTER, 1466 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1880.
- VICTOR W. DIPPELL, 1230 North 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.
- Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 9 Cliff St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
- Prof. JAMES F. DRISCOLL, St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y. 1897.
- SAMUEL F. DUNLAP, 18 West 22nd St., New York, N. Y. 1854.
- Dr. HARRY WESTBROOK DUNNING, 5 Kilsyth Road, Brookline, Mass. 1894.
- WILBERFORCE EAMES, Lenox Library, 890 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.

- Dr. CARL J. ELOFSON, Brandon, South Dakota. 1891.
Prof. LEVI H. ELWELL, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1888.
Prof. CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT (Harvard Univ.), 53 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1859.
MARSHALL BRYANT FANNING, Powder Point School, Duxbury, Mass. 1897.
Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY, Washington and Lee Univ., Lexington, Va. 1888.
ERNEST F. FENOLLOSA, Ichibauchi, Ichome, 1 Fuji-micho, Tokio, Japan. 1894.
Prof. HENRY FERGUSON, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1876.
†Lady CAROLINE FITZ MAURICE, 2 Green St., Grosvenor Square, London, England. 1886.
†FRANK B. FORBES, 65 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass. 1864.
Rev. JAS. EVERETT FRAME (Union Theol. Sem.), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1892.
Prof. ARTHUR L. FROTHINGHAM, JR., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
Dr. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, 3d, Wallingford, Delaware Co., Penn. 1897.
Prof. BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1858.
Pres. DANIEL COIT GILMAN, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1857.
RALPH L. GOODRICH, Clerk of the U. S. Court, Little Rock, Ark. 1888.
Prof. WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.
Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL (Columbia Univ.), 2074 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1886.
JACOB GRAPE, JR., 1724 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md. 1888.
LOUIS H. GRAY (Columbia Univ.), 53 Second Ave., Newark, N. J. 1897.
Prof. W. HENRY GREEN, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1855.
Dr. GEORGE A. GRIERSON, care of Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament St., Westminster, London, S. W., England. 1899.
Miss LUCIA C. GRAEME GRIEVE, Box 64, Thomasville, Ga. 1894.
Miss LOUISE H. R. GRIEVE, M.D., Ahmednagar, India. 1898.
Dr. KARL JOSEF GRIMM, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Dr. J. B. GROSSMANN, 1942 North Sixth St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.
Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1890.
Prof. EDWIN A. GROSVENOR, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1899.
CHAS. F. GUNTHER, 212 State St., Chicago, Ill. 1889.
Rev. ADOLPH GUTTMACHER, 1833 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1896.
A. H. HAIGAZIAN, Cania, Turkey. 1898.
The Right Rev. CHAS. R. HALE, Bishop of Cairo, Cairo, Ill. 1860.
Prof. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.
Pres. WILLIAM RAINY HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1885.
Prof. SAMUEL HART, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
Dr. WILLIAM W. HASTINGS, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1893.
Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2315 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1883.

- Dr. HENRY HARRISON HAYNES, San Mateo, California. 1892.
 Rev. WILLIS HATFIELD HAZARD, Ph.D., West Chester, Pa. 1893.
 Col. THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, 25 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass. 1869.
 Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 403 South 41st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.
 Rev. HUGO W. HOFFMAN, 306 Rodney St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
 Prof. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 235 Bishop St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
 Prof. JAMES M. HOPPIN (Yale Univ.), 47 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1862.
 Rev. Dr. S. W. HOWLAND, 174 West 96th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
 Miss ANNIE K. HUMPHERY, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1873.
 Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1889.
 Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON (Columbia Univ.), 16 Highland Place, Yonkers, N. Y. 1885.
 Rev. MARCUS JASTROW, 139 West Upsal St., Germantown, Pa. 1887.
 Prof. MORRIS JASTROW, JR. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
 Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, P. O. Box 143, Canton, Mass. 1874.
 Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT (Univ. of Minnesota), 266 Summit Ave., St. Paul, Minnesota. 1887.
 Prof. JOSHUA A. JOFFÉ (Jewish Theological Seminary), 736 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1894.
 Dr. CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 709 St. Paul St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.
 R. P. KARKARIA, Nepean Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay, India. 1897.
 HERBERT KAUFMAN, care of N. Snellenburg & Co., 12th & Market Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1897.
 Prof. MAX KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
 Miss ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Ph.D., 45 Hunnewell Ave., Newton, Mass. 1896.
 Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Brown University), 117 Benevolent St., Providence, R. I. 1890.
 Miss ELISABETH T. KING, 840 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
 Prof. GEORGE L. KITTEDGE (Harvard University), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
 Prof. GEORGE W. KNOX (Union Theol. Seminary), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1899.
 Rabbi GEORGE A. KOHUT, 249 S. Erraz St., Dallas, Texas. 1894.
 Rev. PAUL HENRY LAND, 322 W. Wayne St., Lima, O. 1897.
 †Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
 Rev. JOSEPH LANMAN, Ph.D., St. James, Minn. 1896.
 Rev. ROBERT J. LAU, P. O. Box 162, Weehawken, N. J. 1897.
 THOMAS B. LAWLER, 39 May St., Worcester, Mass. 1894.
 †HENRY C. LEA, 2000 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.
 Prof. CASPAR LEVIAS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1892.

- Rev. CLIFTON HARBY LEVY, 109 East 91st St., New York, N. Y. 1896.
ROBERT LILLEY, 16 Glen Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. THOMAS B. LINDSAY, Boston Univ., Boston, Mass. 1883.
HENRY F. LINSOTT, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1896.
Rev. JACOB W. LOCH, 59 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
Rev. LINDSAY B. LONGACRE, 595 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.
Gen'l CHARLES G. LORING (Museum of Fine Arts), 1 Mt. Vernon Place, Boston, Mass. 1877.
ARTHUR ONCKEN LOVEJOY, 1680 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1897.
PERCIVAL LOWELL, care of Russell & Putnam, 50 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.
†BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.
Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON (Harvard Univ.), 15 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
ALBERT MORTON LYTCHGOW (Harvard University), 12 Quincy Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD (Hartford Theological Seminary), 15 Beach St., Hartford, Conn. 1893.
Rev. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND, 23 E. Divinity, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, Redfield, South Dakota. 1887.
Rev. JOHN R. MAHONEY, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1890.
Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1888.
Prof. DAVID C. MARQUIS (McCormick Theological Seminary), 322 Belden Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1890.
Prof. WINFRED ROBERT MARTIN, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1889.
WILLIAM ARNOT MATHER, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1899.
Rev. JOHN MCFADYEN (Knox College), 633½ Spadina Ave., Toronto, Canada. 1899.
Rev. DONALD J. MCKINNON, 1032 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Cal. 1897.
Prof. CHARLES MARSH MEAD, Hartford, Conn. 1867.
Prof. WILLIAM N. MEBANE, Fredericksburg College, Fredericksburg, Va. 1898.
TRUMAN MICHELSON, care of Mrs. Hemenway, New Rochelle, N. Y. 1899.
MRS. HELEN L. MILLION (*née* LOVELL), Hardin College, Mexico, Missouri, 1892.
Prof. LAWRENCE H. MILLS (Oxford University), 119 Ilfley Road, Oxford, England. 1881.
Prof. EDWIN KNOX MITCHELL (Hartford Theol. Sem.), 57 Gillette St., Hartford, Conn. 1898.
Prof. GEORGE F. MOORE, Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1887.
PAUL ELMER MORE, 11 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.
WARREN J. MOULTON, Ph.D. (Yale Divinity School), 22 East Divinity Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1899.

- Rev. Dr. PHILIP S. MOXOM, Springfield, Mass. 1898.
 Rev. A. J. ELDER MULLAN, S. J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Howard Co., Md. 1889.
 ISAAC MYER, 21 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.
 JENS ANDERSON NESS, Johns Hopkins University (Box 442), Baltimore, Md. 1897.
 GEORGE NATHAN NEWMAN, 80 Bryant St., Buffalo, N. Y. 1891.
 Prof. CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, Cambridge, Mass. 1857.
 Prof. HANNS OERTEL (Yale Univ.), 137 College St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
 Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, B.L., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1898.
 GEORGE N. OLCOTT, Ridgefield, Conn. 1892.
 †ROBERT M. OLYPHANT, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.
 JOHN ORNE, PH.D., 104 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1890.
 GEORGE W. OSBORN, 14 West 133d St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
 Rev. GEORGE PALMER PARDINGTON, 194 Park Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1896.
 Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
 Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
 Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
 Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 133 East 55th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
 Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
 Prof. DAVID PHILIPSON, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1889.
 Prof. SAMUEL BALL PLATNER, Adelbert College, Cleveland, O. 1885.
 MURRAY E. POOLE, 21 East State St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1897.
 WILLIAM POPPER, 260 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1897.
 MURRAY ANTHONY POTTER (Harvard University), 18 Trowbridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
 Prof. IRA M. PRICE (Univ. of Chicago), Morgan Park, Ill. 1887.
 Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (New York University), 31 West 38th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.
 Rev. HUGO RADAU, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1896.
 Madame ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN, 207 East 18th St., New York, N. Y. 1886.
 Pres. F. P. RAMSAY, Fredericksburg College, Fredericksburg, Va. 1889.
 Dr. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Ghizeh Museum, Cairo, Egypt. 1891.
 ARTHUR F. J. REMY, 112 West 137th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
 Dr. CHARLES RICE, Bellevue Hospital, New York, N. Y. 1875.
 EDWARD ROBINSON, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1894.
 Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Sem.), 10 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
 Hon. WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, U. S. Legation, Athens, Greece. 1880.
 Prof. ROBERT W. ROGERS, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1888.
 Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard University), 39½ Shepard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
 Rev. WILLIAM ROSENAU, 1527 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
 Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 434 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1894.

- Mrs. JANET E. RUUTZ-REES, Rosemary Hall, Wallingford, Conn. 1897.
THOMAS H. P. SAILER, 4046 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
†Prof. EDWARD E. SALISBURY, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1842.
Prof. FRANK K. SANDERS (Yale University), 235 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
Rev. TOBIAS SCHANFARBER, 2030 Madison Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Dr. H. ERNEST SCHMID, White Plains, N. Y. 1866.
Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, JR., 1025 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 1899.
Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, Radnor, Pa. 1895.
J. HERBERT SENTER, 7 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. 1870.
Dr. CHARLES H. SHANNON, Chicago University, 5737 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1899.
THOMAS STANLEY SIMONDS, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1892.
MACY M. SKINNER, 33 Holyoke House, Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1877.
MAXWELL SUMMERVILLE, 124 North Seventh St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
Dr. EDWARD H. SPIEKER, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1884.
HANS H. SPOER, 120 Remsen St., Astoria, N. Y. 1899.
Prof. CHARLES C. STEARNS, 126 Garden St., Hartford, Conn. 1899.
Rev. JAMES D. STEELE, 74 West 103d St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
Prof. J. H. STEVENSON, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1896.
Mrs. SARA YORKE STEVENSON, 237 South 21st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
ALFRED W. STRATTON (Chicago University), 5752 Madison Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1894.
MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR, Century Association, 7 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. 1899.
Prof. JOHN PHELPS TAYLOR, Andover, Mass. 1884.
Prof. J. HENRY THAYER (Harvard Univ.), 67 Sparks St., Cambridge, Mass. 1874.
Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia University), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
Prof. HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn. 1890.
Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1891.
Prof. CRAWFORD H. TOY (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.
Prof. JOSEPH VINCENT TRACY, 75 Union Park St., Boston, Mass. 1892.
JOHN M. TROUT, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1899.
Rev. HENRY CLAY TRUMBULL, 4103 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.
Prof. CHARLES MELLEN TYLER, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.
EDWARD P. VINING, 532 Market St., San Francisco, Cal. 1883.
THOMAS E. WAGGAMAN, 917 F. St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1897.
†THOMAS WALSH, Yokohama, Japan. 1861.
Miss SUSAN HAYES WARD, Abington Ave., Newark, N. J. 1874.
Dr. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, 180 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.

- Miss CORNELIA WARREN, 67 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
 Pres. WILLIAM F. WARREN, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1877.
 Rev. W. SCOTT WATSON, West New York, N. J. 1893.
 CHARLES WALLACE WATTS, Smithland, Ky. 1898.
 Prof. J. E. WERREN, 17 Leonard Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
 Pres. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.
 Prof. JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1877.
 Miss MARIA WHITNEY, 2 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1897.
 Mrs. WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
 Dr. EARLEY VERNON WILCOX, Office of Experiment Stations, Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 1896.
 FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 135 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
 TALCOTT WILLIAMS, LL.D. ("The Press"), 916 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
 Dr. THOMAS WILSON, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1897.
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM C. WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
 Rev. STEPHEN S. WISE, 772 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 1894.
 HENRY B. WITTON, Inspector of Canals, 16 Murray St., Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.
 Rev. LAUREN P. WOLFE, Christ Church Rectory, Williamsport, Pa. 1898.
 Rev. CHARLES JAMES WOOD, St. John's Rectory, York, Pa. 1892.
 Rev. ELWOOD WORCESTER, Ph.D., 1318 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1899.
 Prof. HENRY WOOD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
 Prof. JOHN HENRY WRIGHT (Harvard Univ.), 38 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1898.
 Prof. THEODORE F. WRIGHT, 42 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
 Rev. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, St. Bartholomew's Parish House, 205 East 42d St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
 Rev. EDWARD J. YOUNG, 519 Main St., Waltham, Mass. 1869.

[TOTAL, 273.]

III. MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

- Pres. JOHN HENRY BARROWS, Oberlin, Ohio. 1898.
 Rev. Dr. SAMUEL H. BISHOP, 127 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
 Rev. Dr. EDWARD N. CALISCH, 1036 West Grace St., Richmond, Va. 1899.
 Rev. JOHN L. CHANDLER, Madura, South India. 1899.
 SAMUEL DICKSON, 901 Clinton St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1899.
 ROLAND B. DIXON, 58 Hastings Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
 Dr. ARTHUR FAIRBANKS, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1898.
 Dr. LIVINGSTON FARRAND, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1898.
 Prof. ARTHUR L. GILLET, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1898.
 Prof. GEORGE S. GOODSPEED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1899.
 Dr. CHARLES B. GULICK (Harvard University), 18 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.

- JAMES H. HOFFMAN, 25 West 97th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
 Prof. WILLIAM JAMES (Harvard University), 95 Irving St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
 Dr. LEWIS G. JANES, 168 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
 Rev. Dr. J. P. JONES, Pasumalai, South India. 1899.
 Prof. GEORGE T. LADD (Yale Univ.), 204 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 WILLIAM W. NEWELL, Cambridge, Mass. 1898.
 Prof. J. WINTHROP PLATNER (Harvard Divinity School), Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
 Rev. Dr. MINOT J. SAVAGE, 34th St. and Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1898.
 Prof. EDWIN R. SELIGMAN (Columbia Univ.), 324 West 86th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
 Prof. J. L. STEWART, 1401 North 17th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.
 Prof. WILLIAM G. SUMNER (Yale Univ.), 140 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 Prof. R. M. WENLEY, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1898.
 [TOTAL, 23.]

IV. CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

- Prof. GRAZADIO ISAIA ASCOLI, Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters, Milan, Italy.
 Rev. C. C. BALDWIN (formerly Missionary at Foochow, China), 105 Spruce St., Newark, N. J.
 Prof. ADOLPH BASTIAN, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. 1866.
 Pres. DANIEL BLISS, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria.
 Rev. Dr. HENRY BLODGET (formerly Missionary at Peking, China), 313 State St., Bridgeport, Conn. 1858.
 Rev. ALONZO BUNKER, Missionary at Toungoo, Burma. 1871.
 Rev. MARCUS M. CARLETON, Missionary at Ambala, India.
 Rev. EDSON L. CLARK, Hinsdale, Mass. Corp. Member, 1867.
 Rev. WILLIAM CLARK, Florence, Italy.
 Judge ERNEST H. CROSBY, Rhinebeck, N. Y. 1890.
 Rev. JOSEPH EDKINS, Shanghai, China. 1869.
 A. A. GARGIULO, U. S. Legation, Constantinople, Turkey. 1892.
 HENRY GILLMAN, 107 Fort St., West Detroit, Mich. 1890.
 Rev. Dr. JOHN T. GRACEY (Editor of *The Missionary Review of the World*), 177 Pearl St., Rochester, N. Y. 1869.
 Rev. LEWIS GROUT, West Brattleboro, Vt. 1849.
 Rev. JOHN T. GULICK, Missionary at Osaka, Japan.
 Dr. WILLABE HASKELL, 96 Dwight St., New Haven, Conn. 1877.
 Prof. J. H. HAYNES, Central Turkey College, Aintab, Syria. 1887.
 Dr. JAMES C. HEPBURN, Missionary at Yokohama, Japan. 1873.
 Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, The Madrasa, Wellesley Square, Calcutta, Bengal. 1898.
 Rev. Dr. HENRY H. JESSUP, Missionary at Beirut, Syria.
 Rev. Prof. ALBERT L. LONG, Robert College, Constantinople, Turkey. 1870.

- GERMANY, BERLIN: Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Königliche Bibliothek.
- GÖTTINGEN: Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
- HALLE: Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. (Friedrichstr. 50.)
- LEIPZIG: Königlich Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
- MUNICH: Königlich Bairische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.
- GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
(32 Albemarle St., W.)
Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, SW.)
Society of Biblical Archaeology. (37 Great Russell St., Bloomsbury, W.C.)
Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J. Furnivall,
3 St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, NW.)
- ITALY, FLORENCE: Società Asiatica Italiana.
- ROME: Reale Accademia dei Lincei.
- NETHERLANDS, AMSTERDAM: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.
- THE HAGUE: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië.
- LEYDEN: Curatorium of the University.
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- SWEDEN, UPSALA: Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.
- RUSSIA, ST. PETERSBURG: Imperatorskaja Akademiya Nauk.
Archeologiji Institut.

III. ASIA.

- CEYLON, COLOMBO: Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- CHINA, PEKING: Peking Oriental Society.
- SHANGHAI: China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- INDIA, BOMBAY: Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- CALCUTTA: The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
The Buddhist Text Society. (86 Jaun Bazar St.)
- LAHORE: Library of the Oriental College.
- JAPAN, TOKIO: The Asiatic Society of Japan.
- JAVA, BATAVIA: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
- TURKEY, CONSTANTINOPLE: Imperial Ottoman Museum.

IV. AFRICA.

- EGYPT, CAIRO: The Khedivial Library.

V. EDITORS OF THE FOLLOWING PERIODICALS.

- The Indian Antiquary (care of the Education Society's Press, Bombay, India).
- Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (care of Alfred Hölder,
Rothenthurm-str. 15, Vienna, Austria).
- Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (care of Prof. E. Kuhn, 3
Hess Str., Munich, Bavaria).

Indogermanische Forschungen (care of Prof. W. Streitberg, Freiburg, Switzerland).

Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (care of M. Jean Réville, chez M. E. Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris, France).

Revue des Études Juives. (Librairie A. Durlacher, 83 bis, rue Lafayette, Paris, France.)

Revue Archéologique. (Rue de Lille, 2, Paris, France.)

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (care of Prof. Bernhard Stade, Giessen, Germany).

Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany.)

Orientalische Bibliographie (care of Dr. Lucian Scherman, 8 Gisela Str., Munich, Bavaria).

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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

With Amendments of April, 1897.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be :—

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The members of this Society shall be distinguished as corporate and honorary.

ARTICLE IV. All candidates for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Secretary of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and seven Directors, who shall be annually elected by ballot, at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice-Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors, said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three

years. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE X. There shall be a special Section of the Society, devoted to the historical study of religions, to which section others than members of the American Oriental Society may be elected in the same manner as is prescribed in Article IV.

ARTICLE XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

BY-LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. *a.* The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. *b.* After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. *c.* At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors, unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. Corporate and Honorary members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society issued during their membership, and shall

also have the privilege of taking a copy of those previously published, so far as the Society can supply them, at half the ordinary selling price.

VIII. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Directors, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Members of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of two dollars; and they shall be entitled to a copy of all printed papers which fall within the scope of the Section.

X. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAW.

I. FOR THE LIBRARY.

1. The Library shall be accessible for consultation to all members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; further, to such persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Yale College.

2. Any member shall be allowed to draw books from the Library upon the following conditions: he shall give his receipt for them to the Librarian, pledging himself to make good any detriment the Library may suffer from their loss or injury, the amount of said detriment to be determined by the Librarian, with the assistance of the President, or of a Vice-President; and he shall return them within a time not exceeding three months from that of their reception, unless by special agreement with the Librarian this term shall be extended.

3. Persons not members may also, on special grounds, and at the discretion of the Librarian, be allowed to take and use the Society's books, upon depositing with the Librarian a sufficient security that they shall be duly returned in good condition, or their loss or damage fully compensated.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

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The Whitney Memorial Volume (vol. xix., first half), with portrait, and bibliography of Whitney's writings	1.50
Hopkins' Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India (from vol. xiii.) can no longer be had separately.	

For any of the above, address the Librarian of the Society, Mr. Addison Van Name, New Haven, Connecticut. Members can have the series at half price. To public libraries or those of educational institutions, Vol. I. No. 1, and Vols. II. to V. will be given free, and the rest (price \$72.50) sold at a discount of twenty per cent.

TO CONTRIBUTORS.

Fifty copies of each article published in this Journal will be forwarded to the author. A larger number will be furnished at cost.

Arabic, Persian, Syriac (Jacobite and Nestorian), Armenian, Sanskrit, Tamil, Chinese, and Japanese fonts of type are provided for the printing of the Journal, and others will be procured from time to time, as they are needed.

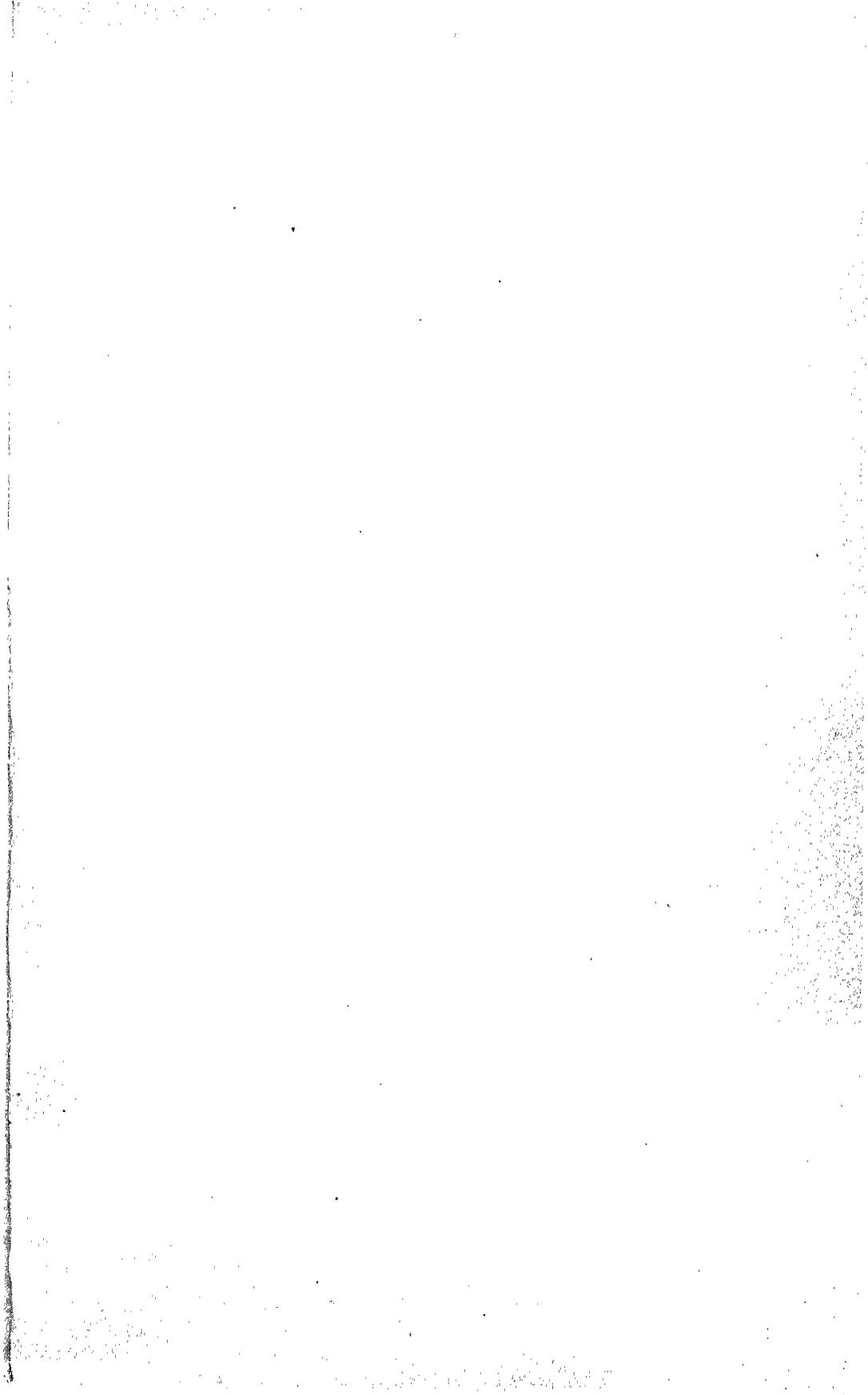
GENERAL NOTICES.

1. Members are requested to give immediate notice of changes of address to the Treasurer, Frederick Wells Williams, 135 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, Conn.
 2. It is urgently requested that gifts and exchanges intended for the Library of the Society be addressed as follows: "The Library of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. America."
 3. For information regarding the sale of the Society's publications, see the next foregoing page.
 4. Communications for the Journal should be sent to Prof. George F. Moore, Andover, Mass.
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CONCERNING MEMBERSHIP.

It is not necessary for any one to be a professed Orientalist in order to become a member of the Society. All persons—men or women—who are in sympathy with the objects of the Society and willing to further its work are invited to give it their help. This help may be rendered by the payment of the annual assessments, by gifts to its library, or by scientific contributions to its Journal, or in all of these ways. Persons desiring to become members are requested to apply to the Treasurer, whose address is given above. Members receive the Journal free. The annual assessment is \$5. The fee for Life-Membership is \$75.

Persons interested in the Historical Study of Religions may become members of the Section of the Society organized for this purpose. The annual assessment is \$2.; members receive copies of all publications of the Society which fall within the scope of the Section.



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"A book that is shut is but a block"

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